G E O R G E  R I T Z E R

E N C H A N T I N G  A  D I S E N C H A N T E D  W O R L D
R E V O L U T I O N I Z I N G  T H E  M E A N S  O F  C O N S U M P T I O N

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Consumption plays an ever-expanding role in the lives of individuals around the world. To some, consumption defines contemporary American society, as well as much of the rest of the developed world. We consume many obvious things—fast food, t-shirts, a day at Walt Disney World—and many others that are not so obvious—a lecture, medical service, a day at the ballpark. We consume many goods and services that we must have in order to live and many more that we simply have come to want. Often we must go to particular settings to obtain these goods and services (although, as we will see, more and more of them are coming to us). This book is concerned with those settings: shopping malls, cybermalls, fast food restaurants, theme parks, and cruise ships, to name a few. We will be concerned with the issue of why we go to some places rather than others, and we will also deal with the ways in which these settings contribute to the high and increasing level of consumption that characterizes society today.

Unlike many treatments of the subject of consumption, this is not a book about the consumer or the increasing profusion of goods and services. Rather, it is about the almost dizzying proliferation of settings that allow, encourage, and even compel us to consume so many of those goods and services. The settings of interest will be termed the new means of consumption. These are, in the main, settings that have come into existence or taken new forms since the end of World War II and that, building on but going beyond earlier settings, have dramatically transformed the nature of consumption. Because of important continuities, it is not always easy to clearly distinguish between new and older means of consumption, but it is the more contemporary versions, singly and collectively, that will concern us.

In order to get a better sense of the new means of consumption, let us first look at Walt Disney World and the larger Disney operation of which it is part.

DISNEY’S WORLD

Building on late 19th- and early 20th-century efforts, including world exhibitions (and fairs) and Coney Island in New York, Walt Disney and his company created a revolutionary new type of amusement park: the theme park. The first of the theme parks, Disneyland, opened in southern California in 1955. It was followed by Disney World in Florida in 1971, Tokyo Disneyland in 1983, and Euro Disney in 1992. The Disney theme parks (even the initially financially troubled Euro Disney) have, of course, been enormous successes, in great part because they built on and greatly expanded the bases of the success of the early amusement parks. This includes entertainment for the masses, great spectacles, use of technology for consumption rather than production, the commercialization of “fun,” and the offer of a safety valve where people can expend their energies without threatening society. In addition, Disney systematically eliminated the “seedy” and risky elements that characterized and played a major role in the decline of many amusement parks in the first half of the twentieth century. Although visitors who arrived at earlier amusement parks felt a sense of looseness, even danger, tourists who arrive at Disney World know and take comfort in the fact that inside the gates lies a tightly regulated world.

Disney transformed the world of amusement parks by, among other things, cleaning them up, creating far more “moral” order than most of the early parks ever had, and making the amusement park acceptable as family entertainment. Disney offered a self-contained, controlled environment free from the kinds of problems that had undermined earlier parks. It pioneered the order and constraint that is characteristic of virtually all contemporary theme parks. Although the primary appeal of early amusement parks such as Coney Island was that they offered visitors “a respite from… formal, highly regulated social situations,” the main attraction at Disney World is just such tight regulation. To put it another way, although parks such as Coney Island provided “a moral holiday,” Disney World created a new morality emphasizing conformity to external demands.

Disney World is highly predictable. For example, there are no midway scam artists to bilk the visitor. There are teams of workers who, among their other cleaning chores, follow the nightly parades cleaning up debris—including animal droppings—so that visitors are
not unpleasantly surprised should they take an errant step. There is no sexual titillation of the kind that characterized many early amusement parks. The park is continually cleaned, repaired, and repainted; there is nothing "seedy" about Disney World. The steep admission charge, the high cost of eating, shopping, and so forth, as well as the costs involved in getting there have succeeded in keeping "undesirables" out. A Disney executive said, "Think of Disney World as a medium-sized city with a crime rate of zero." As a result of this sanitation of the park experience, Disney parks have become a favorite destination for middle-class families and many other people as well.

The heart of Disney World is the Magic Kingdom (a telling name given, as you will see, our interest in this book in enchantment) and its seven "lands." The trek through Disney World begins and ends in Main Street, U.S.A, which leads to the six other themed "lands"—the newly remodeled Tomorrowland with, among other things, a roller-coaster-like space adventure on "Space Mountain" (sponsored by FedEx), Fantasyland with the recent addition of the "Legend of the Lion King" (sponsored by Kodak), Adventuredland with the long-running "Jungle Cruise," Frontierland anchored by such traditional favorites as "Country Bear Jamboree," Liberty Square with the "Haunted Mansion," and Mickey's Toontown Fair with Minnie's and Mickey's Country Houses.

Epcot Center has the General Motors exhibit encompassing the new Test Track thrill ride. Reminiscent of world fairs, the World Showcase has pavilions featuring a number of exhibits from nations including China, France, and Morocco.

Another set of major attractions at Disney World is Disney-MGM Studios. The Hollywood Boulevard/Echo Lake Area features the "Star Tours," which involves a thrill ride inspired by Star Wars. On Dalmatian Avenue one will find the "Disney-MGM Studios Backlot Tour." New York Street/Backlot features "Jim Henson's Muppets Vision 3D" movie (sponsored by Kodak). Sunset Boulevard has as one of its two attractions "Beauty and the Beast—Live on Stage." One of Animation Courtyard's two attractions is "Voyage of the Little Mermaid."

The latest addition to Disney World is Animal Kingdom, which opened in April 1998. It encompasses 500 acres, nearly five times the size of the Magic Kingdom. Many parts of the park are still under construction with a number of "lands" to be opened in the future. Already in existence is The Oasis, a lush jungle-like setting through which people enter Animal Kingdom and that includes a branch of the chain of Rainforest Cafe theme restaurants. Safari Village includes the centerpiece of Animal Kingdom, the massive "Tree of Life." Several hundred hand-carved animals seem to grow out of the tree inside of which is a multimedia theater. Dinoland attempts to depict life as it existed millions of years ago and includes "Boneyard," a children's playground with equipment made out of what appear to be giant dinosaur bones. Africa includes a town, "Harambe," on the edge of a simulated savannah including natural landscapes and herds of animals indigenous to that continent; it also includes the "Kilimanjaro Safari" involving a trip through the countryside and a high-speed automobile chase across, among other things, a collapsing bridge over a "crocodile-infested" river.

Beyond the four theme parks, there are three water parks, a nighttime entertainment district, a shopping area, fourteen hotels, the town of Celebration, and the Disney Institute—all means of consumption in their own right.

Disney has become a global presence not exclusively through its theme parks but also through its many other enterprises, such as its movies, television shows, and cable television network. Of greater relevance to the concerns of this book are the Disney stores that are found in innumerable shopping malls and on-line; Club Disney (entertainment centers for children); Radio Disney (a children's radio network); the new Disney Cruise Line; Disney's ownership of ABC, ESPN, the Anaheim Angels Major League Baseball team and the Anaheim Mighty Ducks National Hockey League team; the Disney Catalog; and even the Disney Credit Card. All of these are employed synergistically to sell one another in a tightly integrated system that ultimately sells the Disney name and yields huge profits. Disney theme
parks are revolutionary in many senses, but perhaps above all they are part of a "selling machine" capable of marketing Disney to an unprecedented degree.

Disney's power is also reflected in the role it has played in the resuscitation of the area around Times Square and 42nd Street in New York City. Prior to Disney's arrival, this area was all but dead as a commercial center, dominated by peep shows and street hustlers. In fact, Rolling Stone dubbed 42nd Street "the sleaziest block in America." Many previous high-profile efforts to rebuild the area never got off the ground. But in 1993 Disney agreed to invest $8 million in the renovation of the New Amsterdam Theater to serve as a site for Broadway productions of Disney shows. In addition, a Disney Store was opened. Because of the luster of the Disney name, theme restaurants, a twenty-five-screen movie theater, a Virgin Mega-Store, Starbucks, and a hotel and entertainment complex soon followed. The result is that Times Square has been revived as a means of consumption and a business center and it may well serve to revivify other areas of New York City. For its part, Disney gained more stature and a theater as yet another means to sell itself and its products.

THE NEW MEANS OF CONSUMPTION

Disney World is of interest to us because it represents a model of a new means of consumption, or in other words the settings or structures that enable us to consume all sorts of things. As a new means of consumption, Disney World has many continuities with older settings, as do many of the other new means of consumption. The precursors to today's cruise lines were the great ocean liners of the past. Las Vegas casinos had precursors such as the great casino at Monte Carlo. Shopping malls can be traced back to the markets of ancient Greece and Rome. At the same time, these new means also exhibit a number of important and demonstrable differences.

The means of consumption are part of a broader set of phenomena related to goods and service's: production, distribution, advertising, marketing, sales, individual taste, style, fashion. Our concern is with the process leading up to, and perhaps including, an exchange of money (or equivalents such as checks, electronic debits to bank or credit card accounts, and so on) for goods or services between buyers and sellers. This is often dealt with under the rubric of shopping, but our interests are broader than that and include the consumer's relationship with not only shops and malls but also theme parks, casinos, and cruise lines, and other settings including athletic stadiums, universities, hospitals, and museums, which surprisingly are coming to resemble the more obvious new means of consumption. In most cases an exchange occurs; people do purchase and receive goods and services. This process may take place instantaneously or over a long period of time and may involve many steps—perception of a want, arousal of a desire by an advertisement, study of available literature (e.g., Consumer Reports), comparison of available options, and ultimately perhaps an actual purchase. Of course, the process need not stop there; it is not unusual for people to take things home, find them wanting, return them, and perhaps begin the process anew.

Many of the new settings have attracted a great deal of attention individually, but little has been said about them collectively. I undertake to analyze them not only because of their growing importance and inherent interest, but also because they have played a central role in greatly increasing, and dramatically altering the nature of, consumption. Americans, especially, consume very differently and we consume on a larger scale, at least in part because of the new means of consumption. Further, these settings are important beyond their role in the consumption process. Many of the settings considered here—for example, McDonald's, Wal-Mart, Disney—have become some of America's, and the world's, most powerful popular icons. My net is cast more widely than even Disney's reach to include discount malls, superstores, warehouse stores, Las Vegas casinos (which are increasingly Disneyesque), and so on.

Why should the readers of this book, most of them consumers, be concerned about the new means of consumption? In addition to the inherent interest of a major, often spectacular, social change in the realm of consumption, the new means of consumption are in-
volved in a variety to developments that are designed to get more of us to spend time and money in consumption. Admittedly, most of us are eager to spend money in these settings. Others may feel that they are devoting too much time and money to consuming in these settings. In either case, it makes sense to understand the ways in which those in charge of the new means of consumption are tempting us.

CATHEDRALS OF CONSUMPTION

The new means of consumption can be seen as "cathedrals of consumption"—that is, they have an enchanted, sometimes even sacred, religious character for many people. In order to attract ever-larger numbers of consumers, such cathedrals of consumption need to offer, or at least appear to offer, increasingly magical, fantastic, and enchanted settings in which to consume. Sometimes this magic is produced quite intentionally, whereas in other cases it is a result of a series of largely unforeseen developments. A worker involved in the opening of McDonald's in Moscow spoke of it "as if it were the Cathedral in Chartres ... a place to experience 'celestial joy.'" A visit to Disney World has been depicted as "the middle-class hajj, the compulsory visit to the sunbaked city," and analogies have been drawn between a trip to Disney World and pilgrimages to religious sites such as Lourdes. Book superstores such as Barnes and Noble® and Borders® have been called "cathedrals for the printed word."

Shopping malls have been described as places where people go to practice their "consumer religion." It has been contended that shopping malls are more than commercial and financial enterprises; they have much in common with the religious centers of traditional civilizations. Like such religious centers, malls are seen as fulfilling peoples' need to connect with each other and with nature (trees, plants, flowers), as well as their need to participate in festivals. Malls provide the kind of centeredness traditionally provided by religious temples, and they are constructed to have similar balance, symmetry, and order. Their atriums usually offer connection to nature through water and vegetation. People gain a sense of community as well as more specific community services. Play is almost universally part of religious practice, and malls provide a place for people to frolic. Similarly, malls offer a setting in which people can partake in ceremonial meals. Malls clearly qualify for the label of cathedrals of consumption.

As is the case with religious cathedrals, the cathedrals of consumption are not only enchanted, they are also highly rationalized. As they attract more and more consumers, their enchantment must be reproduced over and over on demand. Furthermore, branches of the successful enchanted settings are opened across the nation and even the world with the result that essentially the same magic must be reproduced in a wide range of locations. To accomplish this, the magic has to be systematized so that it can be easily recreated from one time or place to another. However, it is difficult to reduce magic to corporate formulas that can be routinely employed at any time, in any place, and by anybody. Yet, if these corporations are to continue to attract increasing numbers of consumers who will spend more and more money on goods and services, that is just what they must be able to do. Although such rational, machine-like structures can have their enchanting qualities (food appears almost instantaneously, goods exist in unbelievable profusion), they are, in the main, disenchanting; they often end up not being very magical. There is a tendency for people to become bored and to be put off by too much machine-like efficiency in the settings in which they consume. The challenge for today's cathedrals of consumption (as for religious cathedrals), is how to maintain enchantment in the face of increasing rationalization.

Although the new means of consumption will be described in terms of rationalization and enchantment (as well as disenchantment), it is important to recognize that they are not all equally rationalized or enchanting. Some are able to operate in a more machine-like manner than others. Similarly, some are able to take on a more enchanted quality than others. Disney World, a Las Vegas casino, or a huge cruise ship seem far more enchanted than the local McDonald.
aid's, Wal-Mart, or strip mall. In addition, specific settings may enchant some consumers and not others. For example, fast food restaurants and theme parks may enchant children far more than adults, although adults may be led by their children or grandchildren to participate—and to pay. Furthermore, enchantment tends to be something that declines over time as the novelty for consumers wears off. After nearly a half century of existence in the United States and proliferation into every nook and cranny of the nation, modern fast food restaurants offer very little enchantment to most adult American consumers. However, we should not forget that many adults found such restaurants quite enchanting when they first opened in the United States and they still do in other nations and cultures to which fast food outlets are relatively new arrivals. In sum, although we will describe the new means of consumption in terms of rationalization and enchantment, there is considerable variation among them, and over time, in their degree of rationalization and enchantment.

The terms new means of consumption and cathedrals of consumption will be used interchangeably in this book, both referring to the new settings in and through which we obtain goods and services. The idea of the new means of consumption emphasizes both that these settings are new and that they allow and encourage us to consume. The idea of cathedrals of consumption emphasizes that these settings are characterized by the enchantment needed to lure consumers, although disenchantment is an ever-present possibility as a result of the process of rationalization.

Two theories (a third will be added later) lie at the base of these conceptualizations of the new means of consumption. The first is the work of Karl Marx and his extension of his ideas on the means of production to the lesser-known, but central to us, conceptualization of the "means of consumption." The second is the theorizing of Max Weber who gave us the ideas—rationalization, enchantment, and disenchantment—that are fundamental to the conceptualization of the "cathedrals of consumption." Twill offer a more detailed discussion of these and other theoretical ideas in Chapter 3, but before that I need to delineate more fully the major cathedrals of consumption.

OVERVIEW OF THE CATHEDRALS OF CONSUMPTION

We will review the cathedrals of consumption, beginning with fast food restaurants.

Franchises and Fast Food Restaurants

A large proportion of fast food restaurants are franchises. Franchising is a system in which "one large firm . . . grants or sells the right to distribute its products or use its trade name and processes to a number of smaller firms . . . franchise holders, although legally independent, must conform to detailed standards of operation designed and enforced by the parent company." Franchising began in the mid-1800s, and today, one out of twelve businesses in the United States is a franchise. On business days a new franchise opens once every eight minutes; more than 8 million people work in the franchise industry. A&W® was the first food service franchise, beginning operations in 1924; Dairy Queen® opened in 1944 and by 1948 had a nationwide chain of 2,500 outlets. Bob's Big Boy® started in the late 1930s and Burger King® (then InstaBurger) and Kentucky Fried Chicken® began in 1955. McDonald's was a successful hamburger stand in San Bernardino California owned by Mac and Dick McDonald before it was discovered by Ray Kroc; the first of the McDonald's chain opened in 1955. By the end 1996, McDonald's had 21,022 restaurants, with projections of 30,000 McDonald's outlets by the year 2000 or shortly thereafter. In addition to its expansion within the United States, McDonald's has become much more of an international presence in recent years. The other big player in the fast food business is Tricon Global restaurants. Spun off by PepsiCo in late 1997, Tricon owns three of the largest franchises—Pizza Hut®, Taco Bell®, and Kentucky Fried Chicken. Overall, Tricon has approximately 30,000 restaurant units and operates the largest fast food system in the world. There are, of course, other important players in the industry, including Hardee's®, Wendy's®, and Domino's Pizza®.
Chain Stores

Related to the franchise is the chain store. The main difference is that chain stores have a single owner whereas many individual franchises are owned by independent entrepreneurs. The first true chain store was the supermarket chain A&P® (The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company), which by 1880 encompassed ninety-five stores. Others were J.C. Penney® (begun in 1902) in the dry goods area and among the variety stores the five and dime store opened by Frank Woolworth in 1879 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Although many of these early chains have declined or disappeared, the chain store is still an important presence in American retailing. Examples include chains of supermarkets (Giant®, Kroger®, Safeway®), drug stores (Rite Aid®, Walgreens®, and CVS®, for example), department stores (J.C. Penney, Macy’s®), as well as elite shops such as Valentino®, Ralph Lauren®, Calvin Klein®, and Dolce and Gabbana®.

Catalogs

The roots of the modern catalog reach back to 1872 and its pioneer, Aaron Montgomery Ward. The catalogs of Ward’s®, Sears®, and other mail order firms constituted significant ways of consuming from the late-1800s well into the 1900s. Catalogs have boomed in recent years. Currently almost 14 billion catalogs are distributed annually by about 10,000 companies. The catalog industry now has approximately 377,000 employees. Each week the average U.S. home receives 1.7 catalogs. In 1996, almost 60 percent of the American population, about 113 million people, ordered goods from catalogs. Almost $48 billion was spent on catalog sales in 1990, and that has been growing by almost 7 percent a year since then. Among today’s leading catalogs are those from L. L. Bean®, Land’s End®, and Victoria’s Secret®.

Shopping Malls

The first planned outdoor shopping center in the United States, Market Square, was built in the Chicago suburb of Lake Forest in 1916. It was followed in 1924 by another, Country Club Plaza, on the then-outskirts of Kansas City. The Highland Park Shopping Village in Dallas, built in 1931, represented the first time that storefronts were turned away from the public streets inward to a central area. There was a hiatus in the building of malls until the post-World War II suburban boom gave it new impetus. The first "dumbbell" mall, Northgate in Seattle, was built in 1947. It included "two department stores anchoring the ends of an open-air pedestrian mall, set in the middle of acres of parking." More important, the first modern, fully enclosed shopping mall was Southdale Center in Edina, Minnesota, which opened in 1956. Enclosing the mall gave it a vertical dimension and served to make it more spectacular. Enclosed malls were also cheaper to build and created a synergy that increased business for all occupants. Shopping malls have since been built on the Southdale model, and they are considered one of the new means of consumption.

However, the formulaic pattern of shopping malls and the competition from newer means of consumption have caused the conventional mall considerable difficulty. Shopping time per trip to the mall is down to about 70 minutes compared to more than 90 minutes in the early 1980s. Some are warning that about 30 percent of existing regional malls either will be forced to close or will be converted to other purposes. Said the chair of one of the largest mall developers, Mills Corporation, "There is too much sameness in retaining. If you dropped a person into most malls, they would not know what part of the country they were in." The result is a shift toward entertainment in shopping malls as well as the development of different kinds of malls.

Of tremendous importance itself as a cathedral of consumption, the shopping mall has been of perhaps even greater importance in providing the groundwork for a variety of related developments. There is, for example, the development of increasingly large malls culminating in so-called mega-malls such as the West Edmonton Mall (opened in 1981) in Alberta, Canada, and the Mall of America in Minneapolis, Minnesota (opened in 1992). The largest mall built in
the past five years is the 1.7 million-square foot Ontario Mills outside of Los Angeles with 200 stores and a 30-screen movie house.\textsuperscript{52}

There is also the profusion of various kinds of specialty malls, especially the discount outlet malls that are so popular in resorts or as tourist destinations. The first outlets appeared in the 1920s attached to the mills of New England fabric companies. Later, the outlets took hold in association with the sewing factories in the Southeast. The first outlet centers are traceable to the opening of the Reading (Pennsylvania) Outlet Center in 1970. Larger outlet malls began to appear in the 1980s. The largest is Sawgrass Mills in Florida, which encompasses 19 million square feet, attracted 25 million customers in 1997, and is the state’s second most popular tourist destination (trailing only Disney World).\textsuperscript{53} The outlet mall in tiny Manchester, Vermont (population 3,600) is the fifth largest contributor of sales tax revenue to the state; Its contribution grew from $1.1 million in 1993 to $6.5 million in 1996.\textsuperscript{54} Today, there at least 350 outlet centers in the United States; it is now a $12 billion a year business.\textsuperscript{55} Outlet malls have become a cultural phenomenon, destinations in their own right. People even take vacations or trips in order to go to outlet malls. For example, on a typical fall weekend with the changing foliage at its peak, one is likely to find long lines at Manchester’s factory stores, but the nearby Appalachian Trail is apt to be nearly empty.\textsuperscript{56}

Also of interest is the recent spread of shopping malls into other settings such as Las Vegas casinos, cruise ships, airports, train stations, and college campuses (especially in student unions). In fact, malls are so ubiquitous (and Americans spend so much time and money shopping) that one scholar describes the United States as “the world’s biggest shopping mall.”\textsuperscript{57}

Electronic Shopping Centers

Worthy of special treatment is the advent of the “dematerialized” new means of consumption, the electronic shopping centers that are likely to undergo enormous expansion in the years to come. One variant is the television home shopping networks such as HSN\textsuperscript{8} (Home Shopping Network) or QVC\textsuperscript{5} (Quality, Value, Convenience). Round-the-clock television retailing has grown enormously in the years since it was first broadcast on HSN in 1985; QVC followed a year later.\textsuperscript{58}

Another variant is the infomercial, which is estimated to have done almost $2 billion in business in 1995.\textsuperscript{59} These are ordinarily half-hour “shows” (typically broadcast late at night or on weekends) that are really extended advertisements for a particular product. They are included as a means of consumption because they usually offer telephone numbers that allow viewers to purchase the product by telephone and credit card.\textsuperscript{60}

Cybermalls and other forms of on-line shopping are still in their infancy. The Internet was founded in 1988, based on earlier technologies such as Arpanet (founded in 1969 by the Pentagon for messages between defense labs and universities) and NSFNET.\textsuperscript{61} Although fewer than 10 million households had on-line computer access in 1995, by 2000 that number is expected to grow to more than 43 million.\textsuperscript{62} In 1996 alone, the proportion of Internet users who shopped on-line doubled from 12.5 percent to 25 percent.\textsuperscript{63} Wal-Mart opened its on-line Internet center in 1996 with 2,500 items; in 1997 it announced an expansion to 80,000 items, or about the same number as in its regular stores.\textsuperscript{64} At the moment, the big attractions are sites that offer stocks, computer equipment, “boy toys” (e.g.,Sharper Image®), CDs, cassettes and videos, books, and other products such as flowers.\textsuperscript{65} However, big growth may still be some years away. One estimate is that although retail business on the Internet (only a small part of which is through the cybermalls) will grow from $530 million in 1996 to $7.2 billion in 2000, it will continue to represent a steady 4 percent share of Internet business—the big growth areas will be business-to-business commerce and finance.\textsuperscript{66} So far, cyber sales have been hampered by slow technologies and problems with ensuring the security of credit card numbers. However, in the longer term, it is likely that cybermalls and related forms of cyber-commerce will outstrip the shopping mall.

The case of Amazon.com® is an interesting one. In 1994, the company’s founder, Jeff Bezos, then on Wall Street, noticed that the
new World Wide Web was growing at 2,300 percent a year. He decided he wanted to do business on the Web and thought through a list of products that could be sold. He decided on books because of the large variety, the fact that no single merchandiser controlled the market, and because computers could help customers find what they wanted. He quit his job and headed for Seattle because it was a high-tech town and it provided him access to an important book distribution center. Thus a new means for consuming books was founded. By the middle of 1998, Jeff Bezos's shares in that company were worth approximately $2 billion.\(^7\)

Also worth noting is the dramatic and controversial growth of gambling through on-line casinos such as World Sports Exchange and Casino Royale.\(^6\) Already estimated to be a $200 million a year business, it is expected to grow to $1 billion annually by the year 2000. Like all of the cyber sites discussed, it is a threat to the more conventional means of consumption, in this case the casino (to be discussed shortly). The reason is clear from the following statement by a person who plays almost every day for two or three hours: "It's great. I don't have to leave the house... It's very private. There are no distractions, no dirty looks from the casino people if you win."\(^9\) Much the same thing could be said by consumers of another important on-line business: pornography.

Discounters

Discount merchandising began to boom in the 1950s. Although such stores had predecessors (e.g., Korvette’s, K-Mart\(^8\)), discount department stores have recently undergone enormous expansion.\(^70\)

Of great note is the Wal-Mart chain. For the fiscal year ending January 1, 1997, Wal-Mart’s total sales were almost $105 billion; a 12 percent increase over the previous year. It and its major competitor, Target\(^9\), were both founded in 1962. As of May 1997 there were 2,302 Wal-Mart stores. In addition, Wal-Mart spawned Sam’s Club—a chain of warehouse stores—that began operations in 1983 and now has 438 outlets. (Warehouse clubs are very basic retail operations with merchandise displayed in huge, bare settings, and they offer opportunities to buy in bulk. They advertise little and offer few services. Although the membership requirements are very loose, a membership charge of $25 to $35 is usually required.)\(^71\)

Another warehouse club, Costco Wholesale\(^10\) was created out of a merger of Price Club (founded in 1976 by Sol Price) and Costco (created in 1983). As of March 1997, the company operated 272 warehouse stores (each between 70,000- and 160,000-square feet) in twenty-three states and five other nations. It had 25 million cardholders and employed almost 53,000 people (more than 40,000 in the United States). In fiscal year 1996, its revenues exceeded $19 billion. Like Sam’s Club, Price Club/Costco is characterized by simple, warehouse-like settings. A limited range of low-priced and discount goods, including food, are sold. Price Club/Costco offers discounted goods, especially in large sizes and in packages of multiple items, so that consumers often end up purchasing more of a given commodity than they intended to purchase. Demonstrations and samples are abundant. Goods are laid out in such a way that customers often end up buying many things on a whim that they may not need or ever finish.

Also worth mentioning are supercenters that combine a grocery store, a drug store, and a mass merchandiser in one enormous setting. For example, a 200,000-square foot Wal-Mart supercenter is twice as large as a normal Wal-Mart and six or seven times the size of a typical supermarket.\(^72\) Wal-Mart operates 354 supercenters; its first supercenter opened in 1988. Other important operators of supercenters are Fred Meyer in the West, Meijer in the Midwest, Target, and Kmart.

Superstores

Not to be confused with the supercenter is the superstore, which is arguably traceable to a 1957 ancestor of the current Toys ‘R Us\(^7\). The distinguishing characteristic of a superstore is that it carries an extraordinary number and range of goods within a specific retail category. Toys ‘R Us has all the toys one can imagine (and it controls
20 percent of the U.S. toy market); Circuit City® and Best Buy® offer a wide range of electronic gear; books are the specialty at Barnes & Noble and Borders; office supplies are abundant at Staples®, Office Depot®, and Office Max®, and the specialties of many of the rest—Sports Authority®, Baby Superstore®, Petsmart®, and so on—are obvious from the names. Superstores have evolved in a number of incredible directions: Garden Ridge® with its 4,000 varieties of candles; American Health Superstore® with 8,000 products including, among other things, twenty types of canes; and Just for Feet and Sneaker Stadium® with their 4,000 varieties of recreational shoes. "In short, every kind of gear a foot sweats in."  

Superstores are sometimes called "category killers" because their enormous variety and low price tends to drive an earlier means of consumption, the small specialty shop, out of business. These superstores are growing rapidly. An incredible 80 percent of all new retail space in 1994 was occupied by superstores. They now account for one-third of retail revenue in the United States, up from virtually nothing little more than a decade ago. Although this enormous growth is likely to be punctuated by a number of notable failures, we can safely anticipate the continued expansion of superstores.

The new means of consumption discussed to this point are the kinds of settings that most of us frequent on a regular basis. There is a whole other set of new means of consumption that are more unusual. They relate more to tourism, or extraordinary vacations, than to day-to-day activities; they involve attempts to escape the mundane. In fact, they are part of a general trend toward viewing tourism as a type of consumption.

Cruise Ships

Cruise ships have a long history. The great ocean liners of the late 1800s and early 1900s are certainly important predecessors. However, the modern cruise ship can be traced to the maiden voyage of the cruise ship Sunward in Florida on December 19, 1966. A major boon to the cruise business occurred in 1977, when the television series "Love Boat" made its debut. The show took place on ships of the Princess Line® and made that line famous. It also served to popularize the cruise. The Carnival® line began operations in 1972 and soon thereafter came to emphasize the "Fun Ship."

In recent years, both cruise ships and the idea of a cruise have been revolutionized. In the early years of the industry, people took cruises in order to get from one location to another; the cruise was seen as a novel way of getting to interesting locales. Now the ships themselves, as well as the entertaining experience of the cruise, are the main reasons for taking a cruise. There are significantly more cruise ships, and cruises are far more frequent. Although the cruise lines carried only about one-half million passengers in 1970, by 1995 that number had increased ten-fold to 5 million passengers. Through most of the 1980s and 1990s, the number of cruise passengers grew at a rate of 7.6 percent per year. There are many more cruise destinations now and a much wider variety of types of cruises (gay, family, nature, and so on). Cruises have become far more affordable (cruise lines are now even offering financing).

The cruise ship itself has been transformed. Ships of the 1970s tended to be small, uncomfortable in inclement weather, with tiny cabins, no television, and limited menus. Although there is a wide variety of cruise ships, the most popular have become much larger and more spectacular. They also have come to encompass a number of other means of consumption such as casinos, night clubs, health spas, shopping malls, bars, and so on. Each of these plays a role in making the modern cruise ship a highly effective means for getting people to spend large sums of money and consume an array of services and goods.

Casinos

Like amusement parks and cruise ships, casinos (often coupled with hotels) have a lengthy history. The modern casino can be traced to the founding of the Flamingo Hotel® by gangster Bugsy Siegel in Las Vegas in 1946. There had been casinos in Las Vegas prior to this
time, but the Flamingo was the first of what was to be the ever-accelerating development of spectacular casino-hotels. In its early years, Las Vegas relied on income from gambling, and other potential money makers (hotel rooms, food, shows, and so on) either were loss leaders or marginal producers of income. In more recent years, Las Vegas has reinvented itself and become more oriented to family entertainment. Although gambling is still an important source of revenue, the other facets of the business of casino-hotel are also designed to make lots of money. The modern casino-hotel is a highly effective means of promoting gambling, the Las Vegas experience, and the activities and paraphernalia that go with them.

Modern Las Vegas hotels make money by offering as many as 5,000 or 6,000 rooms at operating margins around 25 percent. The city as a whole has more than 100,000 hotel rooms. The casinos are enormous and spectacular, offering an increasingly large number of ways to gamble. And these casinos are huge money makers for the house with operating margins on table games (blackjack, for example) of roughly 25 percent and of more than 50 percent on slot machines, the true cornerstones of the modern casino. The Mirage Hotel-Casino® alone has operating profits of $200 million per year. Whatever last small bills and coins a departing visitor might not yet have spent are apt to be taken by the slot machines at Las Vegas’s McCarran Airport or in state line casinos for those who are leaving by automobile.

Las Vegas casinos have also, in one way or another, been transported to much of the rest of the United States. The most notable examples are the casinos in Atlantic City, on Native American reservations, and in many other settings (including, in Canada, the West Edmonton mega-mall), Tunica County, Mississippi, “long known as one of America’s most wretched backwaters,” has almost overnight become a gambling mecca with nine casinos and 50,000 visitors a day as of this writing. In just five years, it went from the poorest to the richest county in Mississippi. Other examples of the spread of the casino influence include the previously discussed on-line casinos as well as race tracks that have poker rooms or slot machines.

Entertainment Aimed at Adults

The Las Vegas casino model has had other kinds of influences. For example, there is a chain of adult-oriented entertainment centers known as Dave and Buster’s® (the first one opened in 1982; there were nine at the end of 1996), which look like miniature casinos; the chain is seen as a possible harbinger of “the Las Vegasification of America.” In fact, one of the co-owners said, “By virtue of its scale and the adult concept...yes, we’re like Las Vegas.” They are large (in one case, 50,000 square feet), have bars, restaurants, pool tables, and a large number of modern games (video games and virtual reality games such as virtual skiing and car racing) and traditional arcade games (skee ball, for example). One can win tickets redeemable for prizes. There is even a small casino, although gambling for money is not permitted. Servers deliver food and drink to the play areas from the restaurant and two bars.

Reflective of the Vegas influence, Dave and Buster’s is itself also representative of the growing number of new means of consuming adult-oriented entertainment. Another is Q-Zar®, which involves a fifteen-minute game of laser tag played by two teams with up to twenty players on each team. Many shopping malls are moving toward offering more entertainment like that found at Dave and Buster’s. Other new entertainment-oriented chains include Gameworks® (the first opened in Seattle in 1997) and Viacom Entertainment Stores®.
the English. By 1995 there were more than forty Hard Rock Cafes in many of the world's major cities. It is interesting to note that it is not the food but products with the Hard Rock Cafe logo that are generally coveted by visitors and tourists. According to one observer, "Most people who wear the t-shirts never even sit down to have a meal there; they simply walk into the apparel stores to look at and purchase Hard Rock buttons, caps and sweatshirts. What in the world compels these people to buy memorabilia from a restaurant in which they have never eaten?" In fact, with the wide array of merchandise (including $300 leather jackets) now available sporting the Hard Rock Cafe logo, the wearing of anything with that logo gives the wearer almost instant international recognition. As Thorstein Veblen argued long ago, "Esteem is awarded only on evidence," and for many today esteem is derived from the Hard Rock logo on a t-shirt.

A similar chain is Planet Hollywood®, which openly admits that it "operates movie-themed restaurants in the Hard Rock Cafe 'entertainment' vein." Instead of rock memorabilia, Planet Hollywood offers movie memorabilia. It does not try to conceal the fact that its hamburgers are "high-priced." And it proudly states that the sale of t-shirts and other souvenirs accounts for 40 percent of all of its sales.

Among other such chains that have recently opened, or will soon open, are The Apple Cafe® (a cyber cafe from Apple Computer), Bubba Gump Shrimp Co.® (based on the movie Forrest Gump), Club Kokomo® (inspired by the Beach Boys's song), Marvel Mania® (comic-book theme), Motown Cafe® (inspired by the music and stars of Motown records), and so on.

OTHER MEANS OF CONSUMPTION

The cathedrals of consumption are important not only in themselves but also for their influence on other parts of society. A surprising number of settings are emulating the new means of consumption in one way or another.

Athletic Facilities

A variety of modern athletic facilities such as golf clubs, tennis clubs, ski resorts, and fitness centers can all be seen as new means for consuming athletic activities. The new professional athletic stadiums can be described in a similar fashion, witness in baseball the Baltimore Orioles's Oriole Park at Camden Yards, the Cleveland Indians's Jacobs Field, and the Atlanta Braves's Turner Field. Although these new stadiums often resemble earlier versions, and even seek to copy them in many ways, they also have a number of innovations. For example, they all feature spectacular computerized scoreboards; they have all become more adept at extracting money from those who use their services (e.g., high-priced suites of box seats at baseball and football games; food courts that resemble those found in shopping malls; elaborate souvenir shops). As a stock prospectus for the Cleveland Indians Baseball Company put it: "Fans at Jacobs Field are offered a customer-focused experience in an attractive, comfortable environment featuring a variety of amenities, concessions and merchandise options." Although these athletic facilities have a long history, the more modern forms are far more oriented to, and effective at, serving as means for the consumption of athletic services (and goods).

Luxury Gated Communities

Like the new athletic stadiums, luxury gated communities often seek to resemble, and even copy, traditional communities. Unlike the majority of these early communities, these new communities have opted to wall themselves off from the outside and to privatize their streets. Consumed in these spectacular settings are expensive homes and a rich and luxurious lifestyle including golf courses, tennis clubs, fitness facilities, and so on. Almost de rigueur in these communities are expensive home furnishings, landscaping, and automobiles. (In the exclusive and expensive gated communities of Boca Raton, Florida, the high-priced Lexus® is known as the "Boca Chevy."
Educational Sellings

Administrators are coming to recognize that their educational campuses need to grow more like the other new means of consumption to thrive. The high school has been described as resembling a shopping mall. The university, too, can be seen as a means of educational consumption. These days most campuses are dated, stodgy, and ineffective compared to shopping malls, cruise ships, casinos, and fast food restaurants. To compete, universities are trying to satisfy their students by offering, for example, "theme housing"—dorms devoted to students with shared special interests. As universities learn more and more from the new means of consumption, it will be increasingly possible and accurate to refer to them as "McUniversities." A related and important trend, still in its infancy, is the growth of the virtual university, especially the Western Governors University being put together at the initiative of the governors of thirteen states in the western United States. It will be increasingly difficult to distinguish such dematerialized universities from cybermalls.

Medicine and Hospitals

A similar point can be made about medicine and hospitals. We already have "McDoctors" (drive-in, quick service medical facilities) and there are many indications that we are moving in the direction of "McHospitals." Examples of the latter trend include expensive suites that look more like hotel than hospital accommodations, more "in-and-out" procedures, and so on. HealthSouth®, a chain of mainly outpatient rehabilitation and surgery centers, is seeking to copy McDonald's and offer low-cost, efficient and accessible health care throughout the United States. Its chair says, "I felt we could brand health care in 50 states, and no matter what city you were in, you could have consistent treatment." HealthSouth uses sports stars to increase its visibility, puts its logo on jogging suits and gym bags, and is in the process of creating a catalog of HealthSouth products. It also is having discussions about co-branding athletic shoes and nutritional drinks. Another company official says, "We hope to be right up there with the Cokes and Nikes."*

Museums and Charities

Even museums are coming to look more like shopping malls. (Blurring the distinction are largely mall-based commercial chains such as the Museum Shop® and the Nature Company®.) The Metropolitan Museum of Art houses what amounts to a small department store and has more than a dozen satellite stores in malls selling books and museum-made products. The Louvre not only has its shops but also an underground shopping mall with high-end boutiques such as Chanel and Yves Saint-Laurent. The National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., has been described in the following terms:

The huge skylighted atrium is surrounded by promenades connected by bridges and escalators; individual gallerie[s] open off this space, placed exactly where shops would be in the mall. Potted plants, lavish use of marble and brass, and, in the neon-lit basement concourse, fountains, shops, and fast-food counters make the resemblance even more striking.

The former chair of Neiman Marcus® said, "I was in the Metropolitan [Museum of Art] recently, and I was flabbergasted when I saw the size of their store. They are selling everything from rugs to jewelry." He might have been less flabbergasted had he known that the roots of the modern museum are, in part, in the World's Fairs and Expositions.

In addition, to raise money, charities are now using catalogs and 800-numbers to allow recipients to order, among other things, a rabbit and two chicks for a Rwandan family, prenatal care for women in Bangladesh, and a small business loan for a Haitian woman.

Mega-Churches

We can bring this discussion full-circle by pointing out that although the cathedrals of consumption have a quasi-religious charac-
ter, religion has begun to emulate those cathedrals. Here is one description of the result:

Megachurches are huge steel and glass structures with acres of parking ... at their fanciest [they] feature aerobics classes, bowling alleys, counseling centers, and multimedia bible classes where the presentation rivals that of MTV. On Sunday morning, big screens project Scripture verses and the lyrics to pop-style religious songs so that everyone in the congregation can see and follow along.\(^{109}\)

Said one expert, "They're the biggest movement going in the Protestant Church."\(^{110}\) Another commented, "They are what I call the Wal-Mart-ization of American Religion."\(^{111}\) Similarly, the pastor of a large Baptist church has sought to make his services "fun" and to that end urged his staff to study Disney World.\(^{112}\)

CONCLUSION

This chapter has been devoted to introducing the twin concepts of new means of consumption and cathedrals of consumption. I have also introduced the reader to the major types and examples of such means. Chapter 2 offers insight into the wider context and implications of the cathedrals of consumption, as well as their impact on the way Americans and, increasingly, much of the world consumes.

2

THE REVOLUTION IN CONSUMPTION AND THE LARGER SOCIETY

WHY NOW?

The Economy
The Growth of the Youth Market
Technological Change
New Facilitating Means

CHANGES IN HOW MUCH WE CONSUME

The Role of the Cathedrals of Consumption

CHANGING THE WAY WE CONSUME

One-Stop Shopping
Destinations
Do-It-Yourself
Altered Social Relations

CHANGING THE WAY OTHERS CONSUME

A Growing International Presence
Pilgrimages to America
Critics of the Trend

CONCLUSION

This chapter is devoted to several interrelated issues. First, we will examine the issue of why there is a rise in the new means of consumption. Second, we will analyze the role that the cathedrals of consumption play in generating hyperconsumption. Third, we will
discuss the fact that the new means are not only affecting how much we consume but the way in which we consume. Fourth, we will see that the means of consumption are having a similar effect in many other areas of the world.

WHY NOW?

The creation of means of consumption is nothing new. However, the pace seems to have accelerated dramatically since the end of World War II. People want and can afford more goods and services. The means of consumption have proliferated to give people what they want, to create new wants, and, in the process, to allow those who satisfy those desires to profit. But why have so many people come to want so much more? One reason is that many people have more resources, and they are eager to spend much of it on personal consumption. There is also an enormous amount of money invested in advertising designed to create those wants and to induce people to consume. Ewen traces the development of modern advertising to the 1920s and to the realization on the part of owners and managers that it was no longer enough to control only workers. Consumers had come to play too important a role in capitalism to allow them to make decisions on their own. The result was the growth of modern advertising designed to "help" people make those decisions. This represented an early step in the movement from a production to a consumption society.

Today, it is clear that we have moved much further in that direction; in fact, American society is now better characterized by consumption than production. That is, as more and more basic production is taking place in other nations, especially in developing nations, consumption has assumed center stage in American society. Although advertising has certainly proliferated enormously, other mechanisms for controlling consumers can be identified. The new means of consumption are the most important of these controls. Their development after World War II supplemented the efforts, begun in the 1920s in advertising, to control consumers. People are lured to the cathedrals of consumption by the fantasies they promise to fulfill and then kept there by a variety of rewards and constraints. The idea is to keep people at the business of consumption. This is nowhere clearer than in the case of credit cards, which lure people into consumption by easy credit and then entice them into still further consumption by offers of "payment holidays," new cards, and increased credit limits. The beauty of all of this, at least from the point of view of those who profit from the existing system, is that people are kept in the workplace and on the job by the need to pay the monthly minimums on their credit card accounts and, more generally, to support their consumption habits.

The Economy

There are, of course, many other factors involved in the growth of the new means of consumption. The booming economy—especially the dramatic expansion in the 1990s, as reflected in the startling upturn in the stock market and a minuscule unemployment rate—has left large numbers of people with unprecedented amounts of disposable income. For such people, consumption, especially shopping, has become a major form of recreation. Increasingly, many people have the time to spend their large incomes. For example, many are retiring earlier even as their life expectancy is increasing. And because of the booming economy, an increasing number of retirees have the wherewithal to be active consumers.

The growth of the new means of consumption also has been fueled by the increasing reality that corporations, including those that own the new means of consumption, are driven by the stock market in which it is not good enough to maintain a high level of profitability; profits must show a substantial increase from one year (or even quarter) to the next. This creates a continually expanding need to lure people into the marketplace more frequently and more actively and to keep them there longer. Old customers need to be retained and new customers recruited. The new means of consumption offer
more new goods and services in increasingly fantastic settings, an irresistible combination to many people. The new means of consumption both lure more people out of their homes to consume and allow them to consume more even while they are at home. The fantastic settings represent key sites where more of people's resources are extracted and more of their future income is captured as credit card or other consumer debt.

There is a confluence of interests: People want, or at least are led to think that they want, all of those goods and services. The new means of consumption require consumers to want those things and in increasing quantities. The same is true of manufacturers. Bankers and the executives of credit card companies also have vested interests in increased consumption because that means rising debt and growing income from servicing that debt.

The Growth of the Youth Market

More teenagers and young children than ever before are involved in the economy as consumers. As Ellen Goodman put it, "The marketplace has turned kids into short consumers." Young people now have much more money and play a larger role in family decisions about consumption, with the result that many of the new means of consumption cater to them directly (fast food restaurants and theme parks) or indirectly (amusement parks in mega-malls, superstores such as Toys 'R Us, Blockbuster Video®).

Take the role that McDonald's and Disney, alone and in concert, play in hooking children on consumption. Both clearly recognize that their present and future depend on attracting young children. Of course, children grow up to be adult consumers, many of whom eventually will have children of their own and begin the cycle anew.

In recent years children and adolescents have become increasingly important consumers in their own right (e.g., a line of cosmetics aimed at children, CDs targeted at adolescents), and they play a central role in bringing adults into a number of the new means of consumption. Take toys. In the past, toys were play versions of adult tools (the toy hammer), taught adult skills (erector sets, doll houses), or involved shared interests in gadgets (electric trains). The 1930s witnessed the first toys that were not play versions of adult objects and that appealed directly to children, among them toys derived from the early Disney characters. By the 1950s, toys such as Barbie® and G.I. Joe® were being marketed directly to children through television advertisements. Today, adults know little or nothing of many toys—X-Men, Sing and Snore Ernies, for example—because they are part of a distinct children's culture that is marketed directly to children on television and at the movies.

Children must make their toy interests known to adults so that adults can make the purchase. Or adults can surrender completely, give the children money, and allow the children to make purchases on their own.

Technological Change

The chasm between children's toys and adults has led to a new technology: a computerized, nationwide toy registry at Toy 'R Us. Children are given hand-held scanners, a recent technology, and wander down the aisles zapping the bar codes on toys that catch their fancy. A computerized wish list is produced for the child that can be accessed at any Toys 'R Us store in the United States. (Toys 'R Us is not the only chain using gift registries. So do Home Depot, Crate and Barrel, Pottery Barn, and Sears.) Toy registries are great aids to adults ignorant of the world of children's toys, but they put even more power in the hands of children in determining consumption, and they bolster the increasingly powerful position of Toys 'R Us.

It is probable that technological change is the most important factor in why it is that we are now witnessing the ascendancy of the new means of consumption. Automobiles and superhighways enable us to use shopping malls, superstores, fast food restaurants, and so on. The national highway system was developed in the 1950s, expediting the development of Disneyland and Disney World, Las Vegas, Atlantic City, and, more recently, Tunica County, Mississippi. The commercial jet airplane arrived in 1952; its development through the
1950s and beyond allowed resorts and cruise lines, to say nothing of airports and their attendant malls, to prosper. Television, first nationally broadcast in 1946, was necessary for the emergence of television home shopping and infomercials. The advent of express package deliverers such as UPS®, Federal Express®, DHL®, and the like has revolutionized the ability of consumers to obtain commodities. By increasing the speed and efficiency of package delivery, these carriers played a major role in making possible a number of the new means of consumption. Cybermalls, home television shopping, as well as catalog shopping all depend on such delivery services for quick, low-cost delivery.

No technological change is more important in this context than the building of the first high-speed computer in 1946. Virtually all of the new means of consumption would be impossible, at least in their present forms, without the computer. Far-flung chains and franchises could not operate without computers to keep track of sales, inventories, shipments of goods, and so on. The national toy registries described previously depend on the computer and related new technologies such as the hand-held scanner. Modern amusement parks, cruise ships, and gambling casinos depend on computers for a variety of tasks.

New Facilitating Means

Many of the technological changes discussed in the preceding section (the computer, highways, and so on) facilitate the operation of the new means of consumption, but are not themselves such means. The recent development of new facilitating means has contributed greatly to the rise of the new means of consumption.

A major example is the credit card. The credit card is not itself a means of consumption. It is not a setting or a place of consumption, of course. The goods or services that we desire are not to be found in the credit card. But the credit card is a mechanism that facilitates our ability to use various means of consumption. It is possible to bring large sums of cash, or for that matter even gold ingots, to the shopping mall, but consuming at a mall today is expedited if we use a credit (or debit) card. In the case of more recent means of consumption such as home shopping television and the cybermall, we are even less likely to use other facilitating means such as cash. The use of the credit card is virtually mandatory. Indeed, much of the future of on-line shopping depends on the ability of vendors and credit card companies to guarantee the safety of disseminating credit card numbers through the Internet. The key point is that the credit card is a facilitating means that makes it possible for people to obtain what they want and need from the cathedrals of consumption.

Although most of the new means of consumption could exist without credit cards, it could be argued that their explosive growth has depended on the credit card. The arrival of the modern credit card beginning in the 1950s is more or less simultaneous with the appearance of many of the new means of consumption.

There are other different types of facilitating means. Within the financial realm, cash, installment loans, personal checks, and travelers checks preceded credit cards as important facilitators and continue to be important today because we are still a long way from a cashless and checkless society. Of the newer facilitating means of this type, in addition to credit cards there are debit cards, smart cards, ATM (automatic teller machine) cards, as well as ATMs themselves.

The Internet, itself a facilitating, is giving rise to other financial facilitating means. For example, there is need for technology that will allow people to spend small sums of money, say 25 to 30 cents, on the Internet for things such as individual news articles, pictures, video-game plays, computer software, recipes, jukebox selections—or odds on the third race at Belmont. The industry is not set up to handle small transactions, so several companies, including CyberCash Inc., are in the process of creating such a system. CyberCash’s system is called Cybercoin, and it will allow Internet sites to charge for things they heretofore have been giving away free or permit them to charge small fees for visiting Web sites. The system works by giving the user an electronic “wallet,” which is filled periodically by transferring funds from a bank or credit card account to...
CyberCash’s bank account. CyberCash collects a small fee on each transaction (as do the merchant’s and the consumer’s banks). Cumulatively, these small purchases will amount to big business on the Internet, but they are individually too small to process through the credit card system.

Even more important facilitators of consumption are the media and their ever-present advertisements. The new means of consumption, indeed almost all aspects of consumption, could not function were it not for the advertisements that are the lifeblood of the traditional media and are fast becoming central to the Internet as well. Although the facilitators of consumption are clearly of great and increasing importance, I will have little more to say about them in this book, the focus being mainly on the new means of consumption themselves.

In any case, we should acknowledge that the distinction between means of consumption and facilitating means is not as clear-cut as it first appears. Although there are some pure facilitating means (e.g., money and credit cards), some phenomena can be simultaneously facilitators and means of consumption. For example, the contemporary airport facilitates the consumer’s ability to fly to such places as Disney World and Las Vegas, but it is simultaneously a means for consuming airline tickets and, as it grows more and more like a shopping mall, many other goods and services as well. Rather than get into these complexities, I will largely ignore pure facilitating means and in those cases where a setting performs a dual function, focus on it as a means of consumption.

CHANGES IN HOW MUCH WE CONSUME

American consumerism is not a new phenomenon. Concern about it dates back nearly 200 years. By the end of the nineteenth century, according to Leach, the "cardinal features of this culture were acquisition and consumption as the means of achieving happiness; the cult of the new; the democratization of desire; and money value as the predominant measure of all value in society." The means of consumption of the day—large department stores, mail-order houses, dry goods shops, chain stores, banks, hotels and restaurants, dance halls, theaters, and amusement parks—played a key role in generating and supporting mass consumption. Some of these have since declined in importance. Others are still important, and are joined by the new cast of characters that are the subject of this book.

Leach discusses the concept of consumptionism, coined by the journalist and political philosopher Samuel Strauss in 1925. According to Strauss, consumptionism involved a commitment to produce (and consume) more things from one year to the next. All other values were subordinated to emphasize one’s standard of living. The concept of consumptionism involved an emphasis on the pressure that business interests placed on people to consume. Previously, business had sought to give consumers what they wanted. Now business shifted to an emphasis on compelling consumers to want and "need" the things that business was producing and selling. Traditions were being abandoned in the search for the new in goods and services. Business was interested only in "standardization, mass production, and mass distribution" and consumers were seen as little more than "units in mass" or as "mass consumers."

There is little question that the United States is increasingly characterized by what now could be termed hyperconsumption, and that most Americans are increasingly obsessed by consumption. According to Juliet B. Schor, Americans spend three or four times as much time shopping as Western Europeans. Of the total land area of the United States, about 4 billion square feet is devoted to shopping centers, which works out to sixteen square feet of shopping area per capita. And most important, "The average American is consuming, in toto, more than twice as much as he or she did forty years ago." On a per capita basis, Americans are apt to consume more of virtually everything than people in most, if not all, other nations of the world. Examples include television sets, VCRs, computers, microwave ovens, automobiles and the energy needed to keep them running. In the
realm of services; Americans are the world leaders in the consumption of medical, psychiatric, legal, and accounting services. It is not just that they consume more of everything, but more varieties of most things are available to, and used by, American consumers than those of most other nations. To take just one example, the number of toys on the shelves of Toys "R Us often stunns visitors to the United States. (As we will see, Americans are eager to see the rest of the world join them in hyperconsumption.)

At its broadest level, hyperconsumption is a highly democratic form of consumption involving the vast majority of the population. The amount of money available to individuals for consumption varies enormously, but virtually everyone today is a consumer to some degree. The poor have fewer resources than the rich, most ethnic and racial minority groups have much less to spend than members of the majority, children fewer means than adults, and so on, but all are enmeshed in the consumer culture. Even those who live on the streets survive off the discards and charity of that wildly affluent culture. This is not to deny the immense impact of factors such as race, class, gender, and so forth on consumption (see Chapter 7), but it is virtually impossible for anyone in the United States today to avoid being deeply involved in, or at least touched by, the culture of consumption.

Those with lots of resources may buy high-priced originals, and those with modest means may buy inexpensive imitations, but all are buying. Beyond the purchase of luxury goods (or cheap simulations of them), everyone must consume the basics (food, for example) needed to survive, although here, too, there is likely to be great variation in the prices paid for, and the quality of, the goods obtained. America is characterized by mass consumption because all but a handful of the population is actively involved in one way or another as consumers. The mass character of consumption also means that the occupations of large numbers of people are implicated in the culture of consumption. Many millions of people work in fast food restaurants, shopping malls, superstores, gambling casinos, cruise ships, and the like.

There is yet another sense that mass consumption is characteristic of American society: People are apt to spend most, if not all, of their available resources on consumer goods and services. In fact, in many cases it is no longer enough to spend all available resources, one is enticed to go deeply and increasingly into debt. Various data support this contention. For example, the rate of personal savings as a percentage of disposable income dropped from 6.2 percent in 1992 to 3.8 percent in 1997. Only slightly more than half of all American households indicated in 1995 that they had any savings at all. Those in the world’s other advanced economies manage to save two to three times what Americans save. Conversely, Americans are far more likely to be in debt, and the average level of indebtedness is much greater. Huge and ever-increasing sums of money are owed on home mortgages, car loans, and credit card balances. Many find themselves unable to repay their debts as reflected, for example, in the increases in credit card delinquencies and bankruptcies.

Within a few decades, the United States has gone from a society that emphasized personal savings to one that focuses on debt. Banks have, to a large degree, shifted from the business of inducing people to save to luring them into debt. In 1997 Americans received 3.1 billion pieces of mail imploring them to sign up for a credit card. The profits from servicing debt, especially credit card debt, are much higher than those derived from savings. Easy and extensive credit has played a key role in making America’s modern mass consumer society possible and that, especially in the form of credit cards, is being exported to many parts of the world.

Schor adds to the idea that there are problems associated with hyperconsumption by contending that

...
self-defeating. Overspending is how ordinary Americans cope with the everyday pressures of the new consumerism.  

However, Schor argues that public opinion polls demonstrate that in spite of the increase in consumption and in material possessions, Americans seem no happier than previous generations. According to one who has given up the rat race, "The more you have, the more you spend, and the more you go into debt." The increased demand for consumer goods forces people to devote long hours to work in order to pay for those goods, what Schor calls the work-and-spend syndrome. This focus on consumption means that many people forgo the option of exchanging less work and more leisure time for fewer goods and services.

The Role of the Cathedrals of Consumption

Advertising, credit card companies, and the consumers themselves play important roles in hyperconsumption, but our focus is on the part played by the new means of consumption in this phenomenon. In addition to contributing to the general atmosphere of consumptionism, the cathedrals of consumption lead in various ways to higher levels of consumption. Most important, they are designed artistically and scientifically to lure people into consumption. For example:

- In Las Vegas casinos, the few remaining nickel slot machines are usually placed in hard-to-get-to corners where gamblers will be forced to pass by the lure of greater payoffs from higher cost one-armed bandits in order to get to them.
- In airports, wherever possible, gift shops are located on departing passengers' right as they head to the gate with fast food restaurants on the left. The reasoning is that passengers are more likely to cross the aisle in order to get food; they might pass up the gift shop if it is not conveniently placed on the right.
- At the Gap®, the much sought after denims are positioned at the back of the store, forcing customers to pass by all of the other goods in order to get to them.
- In Disneyland and Disney World, the visitor enters and exits through a minimall, Main Street, so that purchases can be made both on entering and leaving.
- In shopping malls, the number of exits are often deliberately limited to keep people in the mall; escalators tend to be placed at the end of corridors to force people to walk their length; "fountains and benches are carefully positioned to entice shoppers into stores." In addition, consumers are channeled past long rows of seemingly bargain-priced nonfood items before even getting to the food area. Many of these items find their way into customers' carts.
- Direct-mail marketers seek to prevent us from throwing their "junk mail" directly into the trash by, for example, making it look like government mail, like it was delivered by a courier service, or by personalizing it by making it look as if it was handwritten.
- Although an older means of consumption, supermarkets continue to be important and are especially revealing in terms of the techniques used to lead customers to do what is desired of them.
- The flower (or bakery) section is often the first one encountered in a supermarket. It is designed to tickle consumers' sensations, produce a positive image for the market, and weaken consumers' resolve.
- The best place to display food is at the head and foot of each aisle. Food displayed in those places ("end caps") can easily double or triple in sales. More generally, sales increase for items displayed at eye level or at the beginning of an aisle.
- Foods oriented to children are usually placed lower on shelves. This allows children not only to see the products, but also to pick them up and plead with a parent to purchase them.
Dairy is generally on one side, produce on the other, with meat in the back. In order to get all the basics, customers must work their way through much of the store and its array of merchandise.

• Stacking cartons of merchandise in the aisles can slow shoppers down and cause them to peruse the shelves more. They also present a warehouse image that conveys a sense of bargain pricing.

There are many such examples, but the central point is that means of consumption (both new and old) are structured in such a way as to induce people to buy more than they intended. The novelist Emile Zola saw the department store as a “selling machine.” It is clear that the new means of consumption are far more sophisticated and effective selling machines than their predecessors. In addition to the devices described, innovations such as drive-through windows, computerized inventory control and cash registers, adjacent and enormous parking lots, shop at home, and credit cards have all served to greatly enhance the ability of the “machines” to sell. However, the new means of consumption have done more than simply sell more things better.

The new means of consumption have also greatly altered the way we consume.

One-Stop Shopping

Many innovations aim at one-stop shopping. For those who want a wide range of goods at discount prices, Wal-Mart and its supercenters combine the discount store with a supermarket so that a shopper can get his or her food and other goods on one trip. For shoppers who want an even wider range of discounted merchandise, one stop at the discount mall should work. If, instead, consumers want a huge variety of a particular product (such as sneakers, candles, electronics, and so on), a single trip to a superstore should do the trick. For those desiring a huge number of shops and department stores in one place, there is the shopping mall. For consumers who want all those shops as well as a wide range of entertainment, the mega-mall is the place for them. For all those who want to have a world of goods and services at their fingertips without leaving home, all they need do is open their catalogs, turn the channel to the Home Shopping Network, or switch on the computer and enter cyberspace and its cybermalls. For vacationers who want to go to just one place and have a complete vacation experience, a cruise, a trip to Disney World, or a visit to Las Vegas will work quite well. By seeming to offer everything we could want under one roof, or in one setting, the new means of consumption have altered the nature of the experience of shopping and vacationing by making them more efficient.

Destinations

As noted earlier, many of the new means of consumption are so all-encompassing, or more generally so attractive and appealing, that consumers set out with the specific intention of going to them. For example, while in the past vacationers may have set out for the warmth of Florida, many now head directly for Disney World. Clearly, not only Disney World but also Las Vegas and cruises have become such vacation destinations. All of the other new means of consumption have become destinations for more day-to-day outings—Circuit City when we want electronics, Toys R Us when we want toys, Price Club when we want a bargain, and so on. Not all of the new means of consumption seek to be all-encompassing, but all do seek to be destinations.

Do-It-Yourself

Doing more things ourselves is another major change in the way we consume, brought about by the new means of consumption. Many cathedrals of consumption ask that the consumer do many things that in the older means of consumption were done for them. In older shops clerks fetched goods for us, we now spend a great deal of time retrieving what we want in supermarkets, superstores, mega-malls, and so on. In fast food restaurants we are asked not only to wait on
our tables, but to clean up after ourselves. In using the ATM, we are doing work formerly performed by bank tellers.

### Altered Social Relations

The new means of consumption have profoundly altered the nature of social relations. In earlier means of consumption, there tended to be more in-depth, face-to-face relationships among and between consumers and those who served them. They tended to get to know one another quite well, and the social character of consumption could be as important, if not more important, than that which was consumed. In the new means of consumption, face-to-face relationships have been reduced (e.g., at the drive-in window of a fast food restaurant) or eliminated completely (e.g., in cybermalls, on home shopping networks, etc.). Those that remain tend to be superficial. Few people today go to the new means of consumption for the social relationships that they offer. Rather, they go to get what they want as quickly and impersonally as possible.

In fact, the new means of consumption are better characterized by interaction with things than with people. On the one hand, the new means seek to maximize the unmediated contact between consumers and goods and services. On the other hand, a significant part of the success of the new means is the fact that they are constructed so that people will interact with, gaze on, the cathedrals of consumption and derive satisfaction from that relationship. This is especially true of the more extraordinary cathedrals such as cruise ships, Las Vegas casinos, and Disney World. Interaction with people, at least in the realm of consumption, is gradually being replaced by interaction with things, both great and small.

Consumers are supposed to be actively involved in consuming the means of consumption and their goods and services; and most of the time they are. But other kinds of behaviors are encouraged by the cathedrals such as sitting, gazing at the setting, watching other people, and wandering about. All of these can be done in the company of other people, but they also lend themselves well to being done alone.

Speed, efficiency, self-service, and limited interaction get to the heart of many of the new means of consumption. This should come as no surprise, because these are largely American innovations and therefore reflect American values.

### CHANGING THE WAY OTHERS CONSUME

The new means of consumption are being rapidly and aggressively exported. However, in many places around the world speed, efficiency, a do-it-yourself mentality and limited interaction are devalued. Those in other nations are led to consume more and more like Americans. In many countries this poses a profound threat to indigenous culture. At the minimum, it poses the danger of a global standardization and homogenization as more people around the world consume in the primarily American new means of consumption and obtain goods in much the same way Americans do. It also involves increased consumption around the world and threats derived from that to global resources, the environment, and so on.

Although we will focus on the exportation of the new American means of consumption to the rest of the world, it goes without saying that there is a simultaneous exportation of American-style products and the lifestyle they bring with them. Even if they are manufactured elsewhere, these products (Nike® shoes is a good example) reflect American culture and have American logos. Mattel® is scheduled to introduce in Japan a line of clothing fashioned after the attire of its iconic Barbie doll. The company is relying on the fact that the Barbie doll itself is already beloved in Japan. Said one young Japanese woman: "I'm incredibly happy that the Barbie brand is coming ... I will buy some for sure."

How America consumes is likely to have a profound impact (these days quite quickly) on most other developed nations. This is the case in part because American-based corporations are intent on, and ag-
gressive about, exporting American consumer goods and the American way of consuming them. In most of the world’s developed nations (and in many less developed ones) potential customers are bombarded by American products and advertisements. (I see this process as better described by the term Americanization than globalization;\(^{41}\) the latter would indicate more of a multidirectional relationship among many nations.\(^ {42}\)) Many of those being assailed in these ways are far from hostile to the blitz. Indeed, all indications are, at least in the realm of consumption, that the days of the “ugly American” are long past. Judging by their popularity and proliferation, virtually every new incursion of American goods and services and the American way of consumption appears quite welcome.\(^{43}\)

In fact, many people from around the world travel to the United States to shop in the new means of consumption and to purchase American goods:

Strolling past the Saks Off Fifth outlet, Dress Barn and a camera store in the vast corridors of the Potomac Mills discount mall in Dale City, Va., three college students from France smiled with anticipation as they spotted a shop that sold athletic wear.

When they emerged with their purchases, including the New York Yankees baseball caps that were high on their list, one student . . . said, “Now that we’ve seen the tourist sights, we can go home.”\(^ {44}\)

It is little wonder that the American cathedrals of consumption are so eager to export the American way of consuming.

The current worldwide acceptance and popularity of American cathedrals of consumption stands in stark contrast to, for example, the situation in the 1940s, when a major commotion took place in France over the threat posed by the exportation of Coca Cola\(^ {\circ}\) to the wine-loving French cafe culture. Quite a bit of heat was generated over what came to be known as “Coca-colonization.”\(^ {45}\) In the end, Coca Cola gained a foothold in France that led neither to the disappearance of that nation’s beloved cafes nor the wines consumed in them and virtually everywhere else in France, but the initial reaction was telling.

Although much of the world now seems enamored of the American way of consuming, that is not to say that controversy has completely disappeared. For example, a similar, albeit less heated, version of the "Coca-colonization" debate occurred over the opening of Euro Disney outside Paris. As a result of adverse publicity stemming from the "McLibel" trial in London,\(^ {46}\) McDonald’s has become a prime target of a number of health, environmental, and other groups.\(^ {47}\) There have also been periodic objections to the opening of McDonald’s in, for example, the older parts of the world’s great cities.\(^ {48}\) Although such protests continue to occur, in the main they are quite muted and are overwhelmed by the evidence of wide-scale acceptance of, indeed excitement over, American consumer exports.

Although the aggressive exporting of American consumer culture is one factor in its worldwide acceptance, another key is the absence, with the fall of Communism, of any viable worldwide alternative to the American model. Whatever its problems in practice, Communism served as an alternative world-historical model around which people could rally against American capitalism and its model of consumption.\(^ {49}\) Today, all that remains for those opposed to these things is opposition based on local considerations. Such local forms of resistance to the American mode of consumption are apt to continue in some locations, but they are not likely to offer a serious impediment.

Much of the worldwide opposition to American economic practices has focused on the exportation of American production theories and methods. Although the exportation of the American mode of production certainly continues, it is increasingly being supplanted in importance by the exportation of the American way of consuming. This parallels a similar shift within the United States.

A Growing International Presence

There is much data to support the idea that the new means of consumption are a growing international presence. Take the case of McDonald’s. In 1991, a little more than a quarter of its restaurants were outside the United States; by 1996, more than 40 percent of its sites were overseas. In 1991, McDonald’s restaurants were found in
59 nations; by 1996, they were in 101 nations. The percentage of overseas outlets will continue to grow (about 80 percent of new restaurants in 1997 were built outside the United States). System-wide sales increased from $12.4 billion in 1986 to $31.8 billion in 1996. Less than a third of system-wide sales came from outside the United States in 1986, but in 1996 that proportion had grown to nearly one-half, with sales in the United States (approximately $16 billion) exceeding international sales by less than 1 billion dollars.\(^5\) One observer offered a broader perspective on the exportation of the American means of consumption:

Tool around Australia: the regional malls sprouting along its highways look more than a bit familiar. Walk Brazil's streets: a sign says Chocolate, but the store feels like Ann Taylor, the R. L. Polo store mimics Ralph Lauren and Bill Brothers bears a strong resemblance to Brooks Brothers. Tour Bangkok: the Big C Superstores are the image of Wal-Marts.\(^5\)

Examples of the influence of the American means of consumption on other cultures are legion:

- Canada has been invaded by superstores and almost all other new means of consumption. Said a consultant, "We haven't seen the end of the U.S. invasion."\(^5\)
- Israel has now acquired a McDonald's, but it also has Domino's and Kenny Rogers' Roasters.\(^5\) Then there is the Gap, Tower Records, Hard Rock Cafe, and most recently Planet Hollywood.\(^5\)
- Among many other American new means of consumption, home shopping TV has recently come to Russia.\(^5\)
- A second American-style shopping center (the first had opened three weeks earlier), Polus Center, opened in Budapest, Hungary, in late 1996. Lines were long and people waited half an hour to enter the stores. Five percent of the city's population, 100,000 people, showed up for the mall's first weekend. The mall includes 100 stores, a multiplex movie theater, a skating rink, and nineteen bars and restaurants. The anchor of the mall is a huge "hypermarket" combining a supermarket and a discount center. Similar malls are under construction throughout central and eastern Europe—Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, and Croatia. Said a teenager working in his family's clothing store in the Polus Center, "Finally, we have something really Western in this boring country."\(^5\)
- Wal-Mart and Sam's Club arrived in China in late 1996, and several other superstores are there as well, although these stores have done little more than establish a beachhead. They must adapt to a variety of differences between China and the United States. For example, the Chinese typically live in small apartments, which "means that huge American-sized packages and cases are out, smaller, compact sizes are in."\(^5\) Customers usually walk or bike to the store, which limits what they can carry home with them.
- Japan is seen as ripe for American-style shopping malls.\(^5\) The largest of the current malls is small by American standards (seventy-nine mainly small shops and thirteen restaurants). One mall developer predicts that there will be fifty to sixty malls in Japan within the next two decades. Because of high prices at home, the Japanese spend large sums of money outside the country. This is seen as an indication that the Japanese consumer is sensitive to price and would be attracted to American-style innovations such as malls and discount stores.\(^5\)
- In Hanoi, Vietnam, "Baskin-Robbins is here and expanding. TGI Friday and Kentucky Fried Chicken are scheduled to open their first outlets in Ho Chi Minh City next year. And McDonald's is reportedly on the way."\(^5\) In the former Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City, there is the Saigon Superbowl with its thirty-two-lane bowling alley, huge video arcade, eight-table billiard parlor, food courts featuring burgers and fries, twenty-plus store shopping mall featuring Baskin-Robbins ice cream, as well as children and elders riding "the escalator over and over, amazed at the contraption."\(^5\) The mall came to Ho Chi Minh City even before McDonald's, which opened in 1998.
- In Argentina and Brazil, a half-dozen water parks and amusement parks are under construction at a cost of about $1.5 billion. Large cities are being surrounded by shopping malls complete with multiplex movie theaters and game centers of various types. Theme restaurants such as Planet Hollywood are expanding, as are indigenous varieties such as Rock in Rio Cafe. Said one developer, "Entertainment has graduated from a secondary theme to a central one in Latin America... We've learned you can make money from showing people a good time."\(^5\) These developers are drawing on American models and American expertise.
For their part, American developers are eager for new Latin American markets. Already, a major amusement park is within a two-and-a-half hour drive of every major American city. There is fear of a shakeout in the overdeveloped theme-restaurant market and similar problems confront other types of entertainment centers, and hence the attraction of the underserved Latin American market.

- In Paris, "The Champs-Elysees is now an American mall, complete with Disney Store and Planet Hollywood." And that grand boulevard has long had McDonald's and Burger King. More shocking is what has happened to Saint Germain des Prés. Once a quaint neighborhood known for its book shops and cafes, it is now being invaded by international shops such as Louis Vuitton, Giorgio Armani, Dior, and Carrier. "It didn't matter that these companies were French (or Italian), they're still mega-corporations that are proud to have the same exact product as in Hong Kong, Beverly Hills, Monte Carlo, Tokyo, London, New York. Bal Harbour and the other side of the Seine." They are joining other less elegant chains such as Benetton®, Body Shop®, and the Gap, which are already there. Although locals are generally opposed to the luxury shops, they quietly whisper that, "It's better than McDonald's."

- England already looks increasingly like the United States, at least as far as its means of consumption are concerned:

  West Thurrock is probably the greatest bastion of American shopping culture in Great Britain.

  There are familiar names, now recognizable to most Brits, such as Burger King and Toys 'R Us. There's a giant American-style supermarket.

  And farther along the service road is something more unusual for Britain: a gargantuan, thoroughly American mall called Lakeside Shopping Centre, which offers a range of department stores, scores of smaller shops, parking for 12,000 cars, and the requisite food court with quick-service cuisine from many lands.

  But it is the latest American-bred addition to this shopping tract that has brought national attention to modest West Thurrock: "Costco . . . arrived here late last year, opening the first warehouse membership club in Britain amid an onslaught of media fanfare."

Not satisfied, a large factory outlet developer is looking into various sites in England, largely because its American tenants such as Nike and the Gap see European expansion as key to their continued growth. For their part, the English are attracted to the American discounters for a very good reason—the high cost of American products in England.

Many in other parts of the world not only are accepting of the new means of consumption but are producing their own variants that they are eager to export to the United States. For example, in Latin America, the Rock in Rio Cafe has clearly taken a lead from American theme restaurants with its "entry by monorail, walls with projected imagery that changes the decor, and an indoor fireworks show every night." Its developer eventually plans to turn the tables and export his theme restaurant to the United States: "Why import something American when we can do it better ourselves. . . . After all, you can export as much as you import in today's world."

There was a time when American production was the envy of the world, and others were eager to emulate its structures and methods. Today, it is more America's new means of consumption that virtually every nation around the world covets. Although there are certainly foreign precursors of many of these means, there is something quintessentially American about McDonald's, Disney, Wal-Mart, and the Flamingo Hotel, and also about their respective founders Ray Kroc, Walt Disney, Sam Walton, and Bugsy Siegel.

However, although the largely American cathedrals of consumption have made in-roads in many parts of the world, it is important to remember that other nations retain means of consumption that are distinctly their own. Tokyo has fast food restaurants, large discount stores, and department stores, but it also has a profusion of small shops and innumerable automatic vending machines "that dispense not only soft drinks, and cigarettes, but also beer and liquor, socks, ties, women's stockings, coffee, hot noodles, magazines and . . . unbelievably, flowers and engagement rings."
Pilgrimages to America

Merchants from many nations are making pilgrimages to the United States to study the means of consumption and see how they can be adapted to their cultures:

The Mall of America is our Uffizi, Home Depot our Forum. The Gap, Nordstrom, Disney Stores, Sears, Crate and Barrel, Niketown, Barnes & Noble and Wal-Mart—these are our cathedrals. . . . Heading for shopping centers of all kinds—malls, strip centers, outlet mills, downtown stores and designer boutiques—travelers from overseas board buses, trains, planes and taxicabs for days at a time.72

There are regular tours of the new means of consumption organized for interested parties from many nations.* Innumerable other foreign retailers come on their own in an effort to learn the secrets of America's new means of consumption.

Critics of the Trend

It is abundantly clear that many welcome the invasion; of the largely American new means of consumption, but there are critics of this trend and especially its homogenizing impact:

This view that the culture of consumerism is a type of generic culture . . . is buttressed by the spread of huge shopping centers. Remarkably alike in design and in content, these free-market temples sell the same clothes (Levis, Nike), serve the same food (Pizza Hut, McDonald’s, Taco Bell) and show the same movies. From Santiago to Rio de Janeiro, Bogota and Mexico City, these centers in effect allow people to travel without leaving home and to feel at home even when traveling.73

The area around Kruger National Park in South Africa has a casino linked to a shopping mall. Considerable attention is being devoted to developing this area to attract more tourists, but the head of the tourist agency is obviously aware of the dangers of American-style development:

The most successful or enduring cultural happenings internationally are not staged Disney-type events, with tourists as a spectator audience and with locals as actors…. They are living festivals such as the running of the bulls in Pamplona, the Carnival in Rio and Easter in Jerusalem . . .

What better way . . . than to assist in the creation of ways for tourists to, actually engage with living cultures by bringing travellers into our townships, villages and kraals. Why give them Disney when you can give them authentic Africa?74

There is no question that this exportation of the American means of consumption to the rest of the world involves a process of Americanization. There is a danger of backlash here, but McDonald’s among others has sought to be “glocal”—that is, integrate the global with the local.75 (This is also true of the Disney parks in Tokyo and outside Paris.76) McDonald’s does this by using many local owners and by adapting its products to each local environment.77 A good example is the McDonald’s in Delhi, India. Given the Indian deification of the cow, this McDonald’s sells the “Maharaja Mac” made from 100 percent mutton. Also on the menu because of the large number of vegetarians in India are “Vegetable McNuggets.” Nonetheless, McDonald’s has had opposition, especially from animal rights activists, one of whom said, "I am against McDonald’s because they are the chief killers of cows in the world. . . . We don’t need cow killers in India."78

In sum, there has been an explosion of the largely American new means of consumption not only in United States, but in many other parts of the world. They have brought with them many undoubted benefits such as lower prices and a cornucopia of consumer goods unheard of in human history. They have also brought a series of potential drawbacks not the least of which is the fact that people throughout the United States, and increasingly throughout the rest of the world, have become voracious consumers.
In addition to discussing why it is that we are now seeing the creation of so many new and important means of consumption, this chapter has dealt with the ways in which these means have altered the amount and way that Americans, as well as much of the rest of the world, consume. In the next chapter I will present a set of theoretical tools that will help to analyze the cathedrals of consumption.
cathedrals of consumption is highly dependent on the control and exploitation of the consumer. The second perspective is Max Weber's work on rationalization, enchantment, and disenchantment. Rationalization helps to transform the cathedrals of consumption into highly efficient selling machines, thereby enhancing their ability to control and exploit consumers. However, rationalization tends to lead to disenchantment and, therefore, to cold, inhuman settings that are increasingly less likely to attract consumers. Weber saw little possibility of enchantment in the modern world, but the neo-Weberian, Colin Campbell, extended Weber's ideas to include the possibility of such enchantment. The work of Rosalind Williams and Michael Miller demonstrates that the early French department stores were both highly rationalized and enchanted "fantasy worlds." The theory of the relationship among rationalization, enchantment and disenchantment highlights the difficulties faced by the cathedrals of consumption in attracting and keeping large numbers of consumers. This is related to Marxian theory in the sense that in order to be controlled and exploited, consumers must be attracted, and continually return, to the cathedrals. Enchantment and rationalization help to bring large numbers of consumers to these settings, but their attractiveness to consumers is continually threatened by the prospects of disenchantment.

Marxian and Weberian theory are modern perspectives; the third theoretical orientation is postmodern social theory, especially ideas drawn from the later theories of Baudrillard. The ideas of the postmodern theorists are especially helpful in explaining how the new means of consumption overcome the problems associated with disenchantment and attain the reenchantment needed to continue to lure, control, and exploit ever-increasing numbers of consumers. We will see that, paradoxically, at least one of the postmodern processes leading to reenchantment ("implosion" into the home) is posing a profound threat to the nature, if not existence, of most of the new means of consumption. Consistent with the contradictory character of postmodern society, the new means of consumption are both bolstered and threatened by postmodern developments.

MARXIAN THEORY AND THE MEANS OF CONSUMPTION

The German social theorist Karl Marx developed his ideas in the 1800s in reaction to the Industrial Revolution and the early days of capitalism. Marx wanted to better understand the workings of capitalism, but he was most concerned with explaining the source of what he perceived to be its evils and helping to bring about the downfall of capitalism. In the more than 100 years since Marx’s death in 1883, capitalism has undergone many changes and Marx’s disciples have sought to use his theories as a base to analyze and criticize these changes. However, such theorizing had little effect on capitalism, which is now triumphant on the world stage. Furthermore, most of the Communist regimes that were erected, at least in part on a base of Marxian ideas, have collapsed. Given capitalism’s unparalleled position of preeminence, some think it is more important than ever to analyze it from a Marxian perspective.

Animating Marx’s original interest was his distress over the fact that the capitalists’ ownership of the means of production allowed them to control and exploit the proletariat (the worker). In order to work, the proletariat had to have access to the means of production such as tools, machines, factories, and raw materials. Knowing this, at least subconsciously, the capitalists were able to pay them far less than they should have, given the value of what the workers produced. In fact, in the Marxian view, the proletariat deserved just about all of the money earned by the capitalists because all value is derived from labor.

Like most other modern theorists, Marx focused mainly on production—that is, he had a productivist bias. Given the realities that he was dealing with (the early days of the Industrial Revolution and capitalism) a focus on production in general, and the means of production in particular, was sensible. However, in recent years, to the degree that production and consumption can be clearly separated, production has grown increasingly less important (for example, fewer workers are involved in goods production), especially in the United States, whereas consumption has grown in importance. In such a
society, it makes sense to shift our focus from the means of production to the means of consumption.

Marx had a great deal to say about consumption, especially in his well-known work on commodities. Much less well known and visible is the fact that Marx (following Adam Smith, as he often did) employed the concept "means of consumption."

Marx defined the means of production as "commodities that possess a form in which they... enter productive consumption." The means of consumption he defined as "commodities that possess a form in which they... enter individual consumption of the capitalist and working class." Under this heading, Marx differentiates between subsistence and luxury consumption (Smith made a similar distinction). On the one hand are the "necessary means of consumption," or those "that enter the consumption of the working class." On the other are the "luxury means of consumption, which enter the consumption only of the capitalist class, i.e., can be exchanged only for the expenditure of surplus-value, which does not accrue to the workers." Basic foodstuffs would be subsistence means of consumption whereas elegant automobiles would be luxury means of consumption.

There is a logical problem in the way Marx uses the concept of the means of consumption, especially in comparison to the paired notion of means of production. The means of production occupy an intermediate position between workers and products; they are the means that make possible both the production of commodities and the control and exploitation of the workers. In contrast, the way Marx uses the idea, the means of consumption are not means but rather the end products in his model of consumption; they are those things (either subsistence or luxury) that are consumed. In other words, there is no distinction in Marx's work between consumer goods and what I term the means of consumption (for example, shopping malls and cruise ships). To put it another way, in his work there is no parallel in the realm of consumption to the mediating and expediting role played by the means of production.

In this book I distinguish the means of consumption from that which is consumed. Fast food restaurants are different from the hamburgers we eat in them. The means of consumption will be seen as playing the same mediating role in consumption that the means of production play in Marx's theory of production. That is, just as the means of production are those entities that make it possible for the proletariat to produce commodities and to be controlled and exploited as workers, the means of consumption are defined as those things that make it possible for people to acquire goods and services and for the same people to be controlled and exploited as consumers.

The concept of the means of consumption appears, at least in passing, in various other places, but most notably in one of Baudrillard's early works, The Consumer Society. At this point in his career Baudrillard was still heavily influenced by Marxian theory, although he was to break with that approach in a few years en route to becoming today's preeminent postmodern social theorist. Baudrillard does not define the concept, but the way he uses it makes it clear that (unlike Marx) he is not conflating the means of consumption with the commodities to be consumed but is following the definition I am using. Baudrillard's paradigm of the means of consumption is the Parisian "drugstore":

Any resemblance to an American pharmacy is tucked into one small corner. The rest of this amazing establishment is more like a mini-department store with everything from books to cameras, toys, French and foreign newspapers and magazines, clothing, and a booming takeout business in carved-on-the-spot sandwiches, salads, and soft drinks as well as caviar, pate de foie gras, and elaborate picnic hampers. Le Drugstore's outdoor cafe offers what it claims is an "authentic" American menu.

The Parisian "drugstore" is clearly a means of consumption in that it is a social and economic structure that enables consumers to acquire an array of commodities. Baudrillard goes on to talk about an entire community as the "drugstore writ large." In this context he describes a community, Parly 2, with its shopping center, swimming pool, clubhouse, and housing developments. The shopping center and at least a version of the kind of community described by Baudril-
lard (the elite gated community) are, as noted in Chapter 1, examples of the new means of consumption. Other examples discussed by Baudrillard are holiday resorts and airport terminals. 

Baudrillard was prescient in writing about the significance of these new means of consumption in the late 1960s. However, he did little with the idea and related phenomena. Furthermore, he erred in focusing on the Parisian drugstore because of its limited impact on the rest of the world. In fact, today that drugstore has been swamped by the importation of the kinds of means of consumption that occupy our attention: fast food restaurants, chains of all sorts, Euro Disney and so on. Nonetheless, Baudrillard's sense of the means of consumption is the closest in the literature to the way the concept is employed in this book.

Exploiting and Controlling the Consumer

Marx's theory, especially as it relates to the means of production, focuses on the control and exploitation of workers (the proletariat), as discussed previously. In twentieth-century capitalism, the focus shifted increasingly from production to consumption, resulting in a parallel shift from control and exploitation of workers to that of consumers. Consumers could no longer be allowed to decide on their own whether to consume, how much or what to consume, and how much to spend on consumption. Capitalists felt that they had to devote more time, energy, and money in an attempt to influence, if not control, those decisions. This idea is explicit in Baudrillard's early work. He views consumption as "social labor" and compares its control and exploitation to that of productive labor in the workplace. Capitalism has created a controllable and exploitable "consuming mass" to complement the control and exploitation of the "producing mass." 

The Marxian theory of the exploitation of workers was clear-cut because all value came from the workers. If they got anything less than everything, they were being exploited (when in fact they received barely enough to subsist).

In what sense can the consumer be said to be exploited? There are many ways to respond to this question. For example, advertisements are designed to lure people into buying things they might not otherwise consume. And it is the consumers who must ultimately pay for the cost of the advertisements as part of the purchase price of goods or services. In fact, as neo-Marxists Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy showed long ago, capitalists prefer competition on the basis of advertising campaigns (and other sorts of sales competition) to price competition because it enables them to keep prices high and to pass the costs of advertising campaigns on to consumers. However, our focus is not on the way advertisements are used to exploit consumers, but on how the new means of consumption perform a very similar function.

At one level, the new means of consumption are set up to lead people to consume more than they intend and perhaps more than they can afford. At another level, the sometimes astronomical cost of constructing and maintaining the cathedrals of consumption leads to high prices that are driven even higher by the desire of those involved in the cathedrals to reap large profits. Credit cards aid the ability of the new means of consumption to exploit consumers by leading them to buy more. Furthermore, credit cards are exploitative in themselves in the sense that people are lured into debt that many find it difficult to extricate themselves from and into paying usurious interest rates on balances that serve to stretch indebtedness out for years, if not decades. Consumers can be said to be exploited by the new means of consumption by being led to buy more than they need, to pay higher prices than need be, and to spend more than they should.

It is true that it is far harder to argue that the consumer is exploited than it was for Marx to contend that the proletariat was exploited. The proletariat had no choice. If they wanted to work, they had to sell their labor time to the capitalist in exchange for access to the means of production and ultimately a subsistence wage. In contrast, the consumer appears to have the option of avoiding the new means of consumption and obtaining goods and services in other ways (e.g.,
making commodities themselves or using older means of consumption. However, the fact is that the proliferation of the new means of consumption is making it more difficult and less attractive for consumers to obtain goods and services in other ways. It is increasingly the case that if consumers want to consume, they must use ("labor in) one of the new means of consumption. In a sense, consumers must give the capitalists their "consumption time" in exchange for access to the means of consumption. Consumers are then able to get goods and services only by placing themselves in a context in which they are likely to buy more, to pay higher prices, and to spend more money than they intended.

In a similar way, consumers are not forced to use credit cards. They could pay in cash and avoid many of the problems associated with credit cards. However, in the case of an increasing number of transactions through, for example, cybermalls or home shopping television networks, it is almost impossible to consume without credit cards. Even in the many cases that consumption can be accomplished in other ways, the credit card proves to be an irresistible lure.

So although the analogy between workers and consumers is far from perfect, there is a sense in which both have become "exploitable masses." With the proliferation of the new means of consumption, the choices open to consumers are declining. Although they may not be subject to much, if any, overt coercion, consumers are the objects of a variety of softer, more seductive controlling techniques. And such techniques are one of the defining characteristics of a postmodern society. Consumers can still choose venues other than the new means of consumption; they can opt not to pay exorbitant prices and not to buy things that are not absolutely needed; but at the same time we must not forget that enormous sums of money are spent on advertising and on the new means of consumption (among other sales mechanisms) to get people to buy and pay more. On balance, the evidence seems clear that this money is well spent and people often do what is expected of them.

Take the case of the lottery, a new means of consuming gambling that is traceable to Colonial America but which boomed in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of state government efforts to raise money. Jackpots have reached astronomical levels and a wide array of new games have proliferated. Outlets that sell lottery tickets tend to be concentrated in poor areas and to target those with lower incomes and education. Heavy players may gamble as much as 10 percent or more of their annual income on the lottery. A great deal of money is spent in advertising lotteries and luring people into playing for the first time or to continue being regular players. Advertisements are clever and target specific groups such as low-income players who tend to prefer specific types of games such as Keno, the superstitious with the Lucky Numbers game, and the more affluent players with games based on themes, such as "Star Trek." Players are often ill-informed about payout percentages and the slim chances of winning. For all of these reasons, and more, it could be argued that the lottery is an exploitative means of consuming gambling.

Nevertheless, the analogy between the exploitation of workers and consumers is far from ideal. However, various neo-Marxists have offered us a different way of looking at the analogy between the capitalist's treatment of workers and consumers. They contend that the real focus in contemporary capitalism is no longer the exploitation of workers, but rather their control. If control is the central concern as far as contemporary workers are concerned, then that must certainly be the case for consumers. We are on far firmer footing simply arguing that the new means of consumption concentrate on the control of consumers in order to get them to spend as much as possible. This allows us to skirt the bothersome issue of exploitation without losing any of the focus and power of our argument. And we can retain at least a partial theoretical footing in (neo-) Marxian theory.

**WEBERIAN THEORY AND ENCHANTMENT**

**RATIONALIZATION; AND DISENCHANTMENT**

German-born Max Weber (1864–1920) did his most important work in the three or four decades after the death of Marx. Although Weber shared Marx's interest in capitalism, he came to see it as just one of
a number of developments that were unique to the Occident. Just as Marx believed that capitalism created a number of social advances, Weber noted the positive contributions of the Western institutions of interest to him. And like Marx, Weber was deeply concerned with the problems created by these changes. However, whereas Marx was a radical hoping for a revolution that would overturn capitalist society, Weber was much more pessimistic about doing anything about the problems associated with the distinctive set of Occidental institutions.

The key factors in Weber's theorizing are enchantment, rationalization, and disenchantment. His argument is that the modern process of rationalization in the Occident, as exemplified in capitalism and in the bureaucracy, has served to undermine what was once an enchanted (i.e., magical, mysterious, mystical) world. Rational systems in general, and the bureaucracy in particular, have no room for enchantment. It is systematically rooted out by rational systems, leaving them largely devoid of magic or mystery.

Rationalization

Weber delineated four different types of rationality and argued that rationality takes different forms in different social settings. Practical rationality is a mundane form in which people seek in their day-to-day activities the best means to whatever end they seek. Theoretical rationality is cognitive rather than practical and involves an effort to master reality through increasingly abstract concepts. Substantive rationality involves a choice of means to ends guided by, and in the context of, larger social values. Formal rationality involves a similar choice of means to ends, but this time guided by universally applied rules, laws, and regulations. It is formal rationality that is the distinctive product of the West.

In spite of Weber's effort to distinguish among these types of rationality, and to see them operating differently in various institutions, one emerges from a reading of his work with a clear sense that there is an overall trend in the West in the direction of the increasing domination of formal rationality as an "iron cage." This idea is clear, for example, in Weber's conclusion that socialism would not eliminate or reduce the possibility of such a future: "Not summer's bloom lies ahead of us, but rather a polar night of icy darkness and hardness, no matter which group may triumph externally now." It is phrases like "polar night," "icy darkness" and "hardness" that convey such a disenchanted, frigid, nightmarish image when the new means of consumption are thought of in terms of Weber's theory of rationalization.

Authority Structures

The trend toward increasing formal rationalization is found in Weber's work on authority. Here Weber differentiated among three types of authority by specifying the way in which each is legitimated. Traditional authority exists when the leader rules on the basis of a claim to, and a resulting belief on the part of the followers in, the sanctity of age-old rules and powers. In the case of rational-legal authority, the leader rules and has the ability to issue commands on the basis of legally enacted regulations. Followers accept that right and those rules and therefore follow the leader's dictates. Finally, charismatic authority is based on the devotion of followers to the exceptional sanctity, exemplary character, heroism, or special powers (for example, the ability to work miracles) of the leader, as well as to the normative order sanctioned by the leader.

All three types have existed throughout history, but Weber argued that in the modern West we are witnessing the triumph of rational-legal authority and the progressive elimination of the other two types as legitimate bases of authority. For one thing, fewer people are inclined to accept the authority of someone (say, a king or queen) who rules on the basis of tradition. For another, as rational-legal authority becomes more firmly entrenched, it is less and less vulnerable to overthrow by charismatic leaders and their followers. As is the case for rationality in general, in the realm of authority formal rationality eventually comes to reign supreme.

The demise of tradition and especially charisma as ways of legitimating authority is of particular interest. Both traditional and char-
ismatic authority can be seen as involving an enchanted relationship between leader and followers. In one case the enchantment comes from a belief in the way things have always been done, and in the other it comes from a belief in the leader's extraordinary qualities. Their demise implies the end of enchantment, at least in such a relationship. It is clear that the relationship between rational-legal leaders and followers is not enchanted; there is no mystery why some lead and others follow.

It is also the case that Weber sometimes uses charisma in a broader sense to denote not just leaders but anyone with extraordinary abilities. Such individuals can be seen as enchanted, certainly in comparison to those who staff such rational-legal systems as the bureaucracy. In a rationalized world there is less and less room for such individual charisma, and therefore less room for enchantment.

**Bureaucracy**

The bureaucracy embodies Weber's thinking on rationality, authority, and the iron cage. First, bureaucracy is the epitome of formal rationality. As Weber put it, "From a purely technical point of view, a bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency, and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of exercising authority over human beings." Second, bureaucracy is the organizational structure that is associated with rational-legal authority and its triumph over other forms of authority. Indeed, one of the key reasons that rational-legal authority wins out over the others is the superiority of its characteristic bureaucratic form in comparison to the organizations associated with traditional and charismatic authority. There really is no other option if the objective is mass administration. Third, the bureaucracy is itself an iron cage in terms of those who function in it. More generally, as more and more sectors of society come to be characterized by bureaucracies, they tend to form one enormous iron cage.

Although Weber praised the bureaucracy on a variety of grounds, he was also critical of its constraints on people. He described bureaucracies as "escape proof," "practically unshatterable," and among the hardest institutions to destroy once they are established. Along the same lines, he felt that individual bureaucrats could not squirm out of the bureaucracy once they were "harnessed" in it. Weber concluded,

This whole process of rationalization in the factory as elsewhere, and especially in the bureaucratic state machine, parallels the centralization of the material implements of organization in the hands of the master. Discipline inexorably takes over ever larger areas as the satisfaction of political and economic needs is increasingly rationalized. This universal phenomenon more and more restricts the importance of charisma and of individually differentiated conduct.

The bureaucracy, and formally rational structures in general, must be seen as objective structures that constrain people in very material ways. Rules, offices, hierarchies, and the like constrain people so that although they are enabled to do certain things, they are forced into doing others.

**Capitalism**

Weber conceived of capitalism as another formally rational system, and he offered an extraordinarily clear image of its material, cage-like character:

Capitalism is today an immense cosmos into which the individual is born, and which presents itself to him, at least as an individual, as an unalterable order of things in which he must live. It forces the individual, in so far as he is involved in the system of market relationships, to conform to capitalist rules of action.

The image that is being conveyed is well-reflected in the fiction of Franz Kafka, especially *The Trial*.

To greater or lesser degrees, most of the new means of consumption are objective structures (often themselves bureaucratic structures or a part of larger bureaucracies) that exert constraint on those people who are lured into them. This constraint is important in itself,
for its relationship to exploitation, and also because it makes possible the systematic extraction of enchantment from these structures.\(^{16}\)

**Disenchantment**

Weber derived the notion that as a result of rationalization the western world has grown increasingly disenchanted\(^ {27}\) from Friedrich Schiller. It relates to the displacement of "magical elements of thought."\(^ {28}\) As Schneider puts it, "Max Weber saw history as having departed a deeply enchanted past en route to a disenchanted future—a journey that would gradually strip the natural world both of its magical properties and of its capacity for meaning."\(^ {29}\) Or,

In the face of the seemingly relentless advance of science and bureaucratic social organization, he believed, enchantment would be hounded further and further from the institutional centers of our culture. Carried to an extreme, this process would turn life into a tale which, whether told by an idiot or not, would certainly signify nothing, having been evacuated of meaning.\(^ {30}\)

The theme of disenchantment recurs in many places in Weber's work, but especially in his sociology of that most enchanted of domains: religion.\(^ {31}\) For example, he saw a historical process of rationally and professionally trained (and, therefore, disenchanted) priests gaining ascendancy over magicians who acquired their positions through irrational means and who clearly have a more enchanted view of, and relationship to, the world than priests. Weber argued that in the modern world, "One need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious powers existed."\(^ {32}\)

Prophets, who as a group are more enchanted than the priests, receive a personal calling and engage in emotional preaching. They are either the founders, or the renewers, of religion. Weber differentiated between ethical (e.g., Muhammed and Christ) and exemplary (e.g., Buddha) prophets. Ethical prophets believe that they have received a commission directly from God and they demand obedience from followers as an ethical duty. Exemplary prophets demonstrate the way to salvation to others by way of example. Both types are useful in creating a group of followers, but once they have succeeded in creating such a group, they tend to be replaced by the disenchanted priests who are far better than either type of prophet at the pastoral, day-to-day affairs of managing such a group. In the process, religion begins to lose its enchanted character and comes under the sway of the rationalized church that houses the priests. The priests derive their authority from their position within the church, whereas prophets derive theirs from their service to a sacred (and enchanted) tradition.

Weber also argued that the Protestants, especially the Calvinists, developed an idea system, "The Protestant Ethic," that helped give birth to the spirit of capitalism. Weber is here working at the level of ideas rather than material structures. Weber depicted a world that is, at least initially, enchanted. The Protestant Ethic sprang from the Calvinist belief in predestination. Believing that whether or not they were saved was preordained, the Calvinists looked for particular signs as a way of telling whether or not they were among the saved. The most important of those signs became economic success. The Calvinists came to work hard, and to reinvest profits in their businesses, to help ensure that they would, in fact, see the signs of their salvation. This was clearly an enchanted world. That is, the Calvinist was making decisions on the basis of mystical ideas ("signs," "salvation") rather than rational, matter-of-fact principles and procedures.

The capitalist economic system eventually lost all vestiges of enchantment and came to be a highly disenCHANTED world without room for ideas such as predestination and salvation. In fact, it became inhospitable to the Calvinists, indeed to all religions, because of the tie between religion and enchantment. There was little patience in the rationalized and disenCHANTED world of capitalism for such enchanted worlds as religion.

**Enchantment**

Weber's thinking on magicians, prophets, the Protestant Ethic, and charismatic and traditional leaders had a great deal to do with enchantment. However, his thinking on more recent developments,
especially in the West, had much more to do with rationalization and disenchantment, enchantment having been largely driven out by the machine-like bureaucracy and rational-legal authority. A formally rational world is a disenchanted world. In a modern context it is not unusual to associate Weber with the imagery of disenchanted and rationalized iron cages, but it is unusual to link him to the idea of enchantment. However, such a connection has been made by Colin Campbell who has extended Weberian theory, at least as it relates to the Protestant Ethic thesis, in such a way that it is able to encompass the ideas of enchantment, dreams, and fantasies.\(^{33}\)

**The Romantic Ethic**

In the *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*,\(^{34}\) Campbell does not contest Weber's basic argument about the central role of early Calvinism in the rise of capitalism, but merely contends that Weber did not take his analysis far enough. That is, Weber analyzed the Protestant Ethic up to approximately 1700, but it continued to evolve after that point and began to move in a very different direction. Although Campbell pointed out that there was more emotion\(^{35}\) in early Calvinism than Weber recognized, he argued that later Calvinism became even more accepting of emotion. In other words, there were elements of enchantment in later Calvinism.

Although the early Calvinists required signs of success in order to help them to determine whether they were to be saved, later Calvinists sought evidence of their good taste. Good taste was linked to beauty and beauty to goodness. The Calvinist who demonstrated good taste simultaneously displayed goodness. In other words, pleasure-seeking came to be linked with the ideals of character. An easy mechanism for demonstrating that one had good taste was to show that one was in fashion. The later Calvinists grew 'eager to 'follow fashion' and hence to consume 'luxury' goods with avidity.'\(^{36}\)

The later Protestant Ethic led, albeit unintentionally, to the spirit of modern consumerism. Defining this spirit was what Campbell called "autonomous, self-illusory hedonism." This hedonistic spirit stood in stark contrast to the asceticism of the early Protestants as well as of the spirit of modern capitalism. It also was individualistic and involved illusions, day dreams, and fantasies; in other words, it was a world of enchantment. The key is individual fantasies because, as Campbell pointed out, fantasies can be far more important and rewarding than reality. In fact, he argued that disappointment inevitably occurs when people are able to fulfill their fantasies, especially with a variety of consumer goods and services. Each time they venture forth into the marketplace, people delude themselves into believing that this time it is going to be different; the material reality is going to live up to the fantasy. These fantasies, rather than material realities, are crucial to an understanding of modern consumerism because they can never be fulfilled and are continually generating new "needs," especially for consumer goods and services.

Although Weber saw the spirit of modern capitalism leading to rationalized, disenchanted capitalism, for Campbell the spirit of modern consumerism leads to romantic, enchanted capitalism. Weber's capitalism is a coldly efficient world virtually devoid of magic, and Campbell's "romantic capitalism" is a world of dreams and fantasies. Although production is accorded central importance in rational capitalism, it is of secondary importance in romantic capitalism taking the form, for example, of the production of arts and crafts by Bohemians. What is of central importance for romantic capitalism (and for Campbell) is consumption. And, within the realm of consumption, Campbell accorded great importance to fantasies, especially the fantasizing of consumers. However, Campbell focused on the fantasies of individual consumers. In this book, I extend Campbell's work by focusing on the enchanted aspects of the new means of consumption. We will see that these are not only increasingly fantastic in themselves, but also are involved in generating fantasies about consumption among consumers.\(^3\) Despite Weber's pessimism, enchantment persists. As Schneider puts it, "Enchantment . . . is part of our normal condition, and far from having fled . . . it continues to exist. . . ."\(^{38}\)

I draw on both Weber and Campbell in my conceptualization of the cathedrals of consumption as not only rationalized and disen-
enchanted, but also enchanted. Much the same thing could be said of the cathedrals associated with organized religions.

The French Department Store

Perhaps religious structures seem rather removed from our concrete concern with the enchanted and disenchanted aspects of the new means of consumption. Much closer is work on one of the major precursors of the new means of consumption, the French department store of the mid-1800s, especially Bon Marché in Paris. Rosalind Williams sees such settings as enchanted "dream worlds." She has focused on such things as the use of decor to lure customers to the stores and to "imbue the store's merchandise with glamour, romance, and, therefore consumer appeal." The stores were in the business of enchanting and seducing their customers. In these settings, consumers could live out many of their fantasies by either purchasing goods or merely imagining what it would be like to own them. In other words, the early French department stores strove mightily to be enchanted worlds.

Although Williams has done relatively little with the rationalized, and therefore disenchanted, characteristics of the early French department stores, that issue gets much more attention in Michael Miller's study of Bon Marché. The early Bon Marché was a fusion of the emerging rationalized world with more traditional elements of French bourgeois culture; over the years it moved increasingly in the direction of becoming a rationalized, bureaucratized structure. That is, it encountered "an incessant push towards greater efficiency." Among the rationalized elements of the store were its division into departments; its partitioning of Paris for the purposes of making deliveries; its files and statistics, records and data; its telephone lines, sliding chutes, conveyor belts, and escalators; and its "blanc," or great white sale, "the most organized week of the store."

Taken together, the work of Williams and Miller indicate that the early French department store, like contemporary cathedrals of consumption, was both enchanted and disenchanted. Perhaps the most general conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that enchantment and disenchchantment are not easily distinguished from one another; one does not necessarily preclude the other. There is a reciprocal relationship. Fantasies draw people into the new means of consumption, and those fantasies can be rationalized in order to further draw people in and to reinforce the cage. The cage quality of the new means of consumption can itself be a fantasy—the fantasy of being locked into one of those cages with ready access to all of its goods and services. In fact, Campbell concluded his work with just such an image: "Modern individuals inhabit not just an 'iron cage' of economic necessity, but a castle of romantic dreams, striving through their conduct to turn the one into the other."  

Marxian theory leads us to see the new means of consumption as oriented to, and based on, the control (and exploitation) of the consumer. Weberian theory points us toward some of the problems involved in being able to control consumers. Enchanted settings would seem to be well-suited to controlling consumers by luring them into a dream-like state so that it is easier to part them from their money. However, in the long run, in order to service and control large numbers of consumers, the cathedrals of consumption are forced to rationalize, and rationalization leads to disenchchantment and the decline in the capacity to continue luring consumers or to create the dream-like states needed for hyperconsumption. The cathedrals of consumption, therefore, are faced with a seemingly unresolvable dilemma. However, a third, very contemporary resource—postmodern social theory—suggests a way out of this dilemma.

POSTMODERN SOCIAL THEORY AND REENVCHANTMENT

Postmodern social theory is a recent development in the social sciences. It is almost impossible to summarize postmodern social theory in a brief section of a book devoted to other matters, but I can offer a brief introduction to the theory as well as its role in this analysis. Postmodern social theory is premised on the idea that in various ways we have moved beyond the modern world into a new, postmodern world that is very different socially and culturally from its predecessor.
New, postmodern theories and ideas are required in order to analyze this new world.

Both modern social theory and modernity itself were closely tied to the idea of rationality. Theorists (including Marx and Weber) were urged to think rationally about that world, and when they did, they discovered that it was a world that was best characterized as being rational. Although acknowledging the advantages of rationality, they were also highly critical of it on various grounds.

Postmodern social theory rejects the idea of rationality and is associated more with the ideas of nonrationality or even irrationality. This means that postmodern social theorists reject the careful, reasoned style of modern academic discourse. The author's objective is often more to shock and startle readers than to win them over with logical, reasoned argument. Postmodern social theory also tends to be more literary than academic in style. In fact, thinkers associated with this perspective reject not only the idea of drawing a clear line between academic scholarship and literature, but also, as part of a modern way of thinking, most or all efforts to draw boundaries.

Postmodern theory is of obvious relevance to this work because of its association with consumption and the idea that the postmodern world is defined by consumption (rather than production). As Eva Illouz put it, we are dealing with a world "in which economy has been transmuted into culture and culture into the transient and disposable world of goods." One of the leading postmodern thinkers is Baudrillard, whose contribution to our conceptualization of the means of consumption we have already encountered.

More important, postmodern thinkers also reject the idea that society is highly rational. Although postmodern society may have some rational elements, it is even more likely to be characterized by "emotions, feelings, intuition, reflection, speculation, personal experience, custom, violence, metaphysics, tradition, cosmology, magic, myth, religious sentiment, and mystical experience." Rather than discuss this in general terms, I will focus on an idea, "symbolic exchange," associated with the work of Baudrillard.

To Baudrillard, symbolic exchange involves "taking and returning, giving and receiving . . . [the] cycle of gifts and countergifts." Baudrillard developed his notion of nonrational symbolic exchange as a contrast, and alternative, to the highly rational economic exchange that characterizes modern capitalist society. For example, although economic exchange produces such things as goods and services, as well as profit, symbolic exchange is nonproductive. Economic exchanges tend to be limited to a specific exchange of, for example, goods and services for money, and symbolic exchanges occur continually and without limitation. In societies characterized by symbolic exchange, economic exchanges (considered of preeminent importance in modern societies) tend to be only a small portion of all exchanges. Baudrillard prefers nonrational symbolic exchange and associates it with primitive societies. He uses the idea of nonrational symbolic exchange to criticize modern societies, which are dominated by rational economic exchange. Baudrillard argued that contemporary society was on the verge, or in the midst, of the transition to the postmodern. However, this newly emerging society to him offers powerful barriers to symbolic exchange. Although he develops a postmodern theory, Baudrillard ends up being a critic of both modern and postmodern society.

Two of Baudrillard's specific ideas—implosion and simulations—will play a prominent role in this book, as will other ideas closely associated with postmodern social theory such as spectacles, time, and space. Later, I will define and deal with these concepts. However, we must not forget that the greatest significance of postmodern social theory is its emphasis on enchantment, the lack thereof in the modern world, and the continuing need for it. For Baudrillard, the enchanted world of symbolic exchange continually haunts, and poses a threat to, the modern disenchanted world of economic exchange. There is no possibility of returning to the primitive society dominated by symbolic exchange, but there is the possibility of such exchange re-asserting itself. In other words, postmodernists hold out the possibility of the reenchantment of the world.
Zygmunt Bauman accords great centrality to this process of reenchantment:

Postmodernity . . . brings "re-enchantment" of the world after the protracted and earnest, though in the end inconclusive, modern struggle to dis-enchant it (or, more exactly, the resistance to dis-enchantment, hardly ever put to sleep, was along the "postmodern thorn" in the body of modernity). The mistrust of human spontaneity, of drives, impulses, and inclinations resistant to prediction and rational justification, has been all but replaced by the mistrust of unemotional, calculating reason. Dignity has been returned to emotions; legitimacy to the "inexplicable," nay irrational. . . . The postmodern world is one in which mystery is no more a barely tolerated alien awaiting a deportation order. . . . We learn to live with events and acts that are not only not-yet-explained, but (for all we know about what we will ever know) inexplicable. We learn again to respect ambiguity, to feel regard for human emotions, to appreciate actions without purpose and calculable rewards.54

To take a specific example, Baudrillard argued that "seduction" offers the possibility of reenchanting our lives. Rather than the complete clarity and visibility associated with modernity, seduction offers "the play and power of illusion."55

The introduction of the concept of reenchantment allows us to create an expanded model of Weber's theory. Weber offers a theory of the relationship among enchantment, rationalization, and disenchantment. We have seen that some neo-Weberians (Campbell, especially) allow for the possibility of enchantment in the contemporary world, but the postmodernists offer a stronger thesis. Postmodern thinkers such as Baudrillard tend to think of reenchantment as either a possibility within modern society or the basis of a future alternative to modern society and its numbing disenchantment. However, in this work, reenchantment will be viewed as an ongoing and very real development within the contemporary cathedrals of consumption. It constitutes the way out of the dilemma posed by the disenchantment of the world in general and of the means of consumption in particular. In order to continue to attract, control, and exploit consumers, the cathedrals of consumption undergo a continual process of reenchantment. Of course, those efforts at reenchantment may, themselves, be rationalized from the beginning. Even if they are not, with reenchantment the stage is set for the entire process to recur.

Postmodern theory offers us three other perspectives that are crucial to this analysis. First, postmodern theorists tend to see the contemporary world as both exhilarating and threatening. Most of the processes associated with the reenchantment of the cathedrals of consumption can easily be seen as quite exhilarating in reviving and reinvigorating those cathedrals. And many of those same processes are also quite threatening, even to the very existence of those cathedrals.

Second, postmodern theory offers a useful corrective on the idea that the means of consumption control and exploit consumers. Although there is control and exploitation in the sense that people are led to buy and to spend too much, the fact is that people are not, in the main, being coerced into doing so, but are quite eager to behave in these ways. As we have seen, this is not only true of American consumers; much of the rest of the world seems intent on consuming like Americans. Most consumers do not see themselves as being controlled and exploited and would vehemently reject the idea that this is what is taking place. Whatever the objective realities (if one can even speak of such realities in a postmodern world) of prices paid and quantities purchased, most consumers seem willing to pay the prices and would, if anything, consume even more if they could.

There is an even stronger point to be made about postmodern consumers. Rather than having their consumption orchestrated by people like advertising executives and directors of cathedrals of consumption, it may be that it is consumers who are in control. It is the consumers who demand reenchanted cathedrals of consumption and those demands must be met if their business is to be retained. However, once one setting has been reenCHANTED, competitors must follow suit or risk the permanent loss of business. The means of consumption are in constant competition with one another to see which one, can be most responsive to the demands of consumers for re-enchanted settings in which to consume. In fact, it could be argued that consum-
ers are forcing the means of consumption into a reckless and potentially destructive war to see which one can offer the most (re-)enchanted setting. This is nowhere clearer than in Las Vegas today where old hotels are being torn down and enormously expensive new ones are being constructed with ever more enchanted themes and settings.

Third, modern social theory tends to focus on agents and their intentions. Postmodern social theory, however, seeks to decenter the analysis by abandoning such a focus. This is one of the reasons why this book does not focus on consumers as agents, but rather the settings in which consumption occurs. In addition, this postmodern perspective leads us to the view that the processes involved in the reenchantment of the means of consumption are only in part a result of the intentions of the agents operating on behalf of the cathedrals of consumption (see Chapters 5 and 6).

CONCLUSION

In the end, this is not a work in postmodern theory, or any other theory for that matter. The goal is to gain a greater understanding of the new means of consumption and to that end theoretical tools that work will be employed, whatever their origin. In order to create the theoretical framework for this book, I have borrowed the ideas of exploitation, control, rationalization, and disenchantment from modern social theory and the notion of reenchantment from postmodern social theory. This book offers what the postmodernists call a "pastiche" (a mixture of sometimes seemingly contradictory ideas) of modern and postmodern ideas in order to analyze the cathedrals of consumption. The latter, of course, are themselves combinations of modern, postmodern, and even premodern elements. Both the subject matter and the theoretical perspective of this book stand with one foot in some of social theory's oldest ideas and the other in some of its most contemporary thinking.

4

RATIONALIZATION, ENCHANTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT

THE RATIONALIZATION OF THE NEW MEANS OF CONSUMPTION
- Efficiency
  - For the Customer
  - For the Organization
- Calculability
- Predictability
- Control through the Substitution of Nonhuman for Human Technology
- Irrationality of Rationality

LINKING RATIONALIZATION TO DISENCHANTMENT
RATIONALIZATION AS ENCHANTMENT
CONCLUSION

This chapter expands on the Weberian and neo-Weberian theories outlined in the preceding chapter and applies ideas derived from them to the cathedrals of consumption. The discussion is divided into three sections. First, I will examine the several dimensions of the rationalization of the new means of consumption. Second, I will link rationalization to the disenchantment of these settings. Third, I will deal with the degree to which rationalized systems can, themselves, be enchanting. Overarching all of this is the problem of continuing


3. The focus is on the macrostructures in which consumption takes place and not microlevel consumers and their actions. To put it another way, the focus is on structures and not on consumers as agents.


5. The issue of whether there is really anything "new" about the new means of consumption will be discussed at length in Chapter 7.

6. It is interesting to note how many of the new means of consumption have their roots in the 1950s. This is undoubtedly traceable to the increasing influence of American society as well as the growth of facilitating means of consumption relating to transportation—automobiles, highways, jet planes, and so on.

7. DisneySea, at a cost of $2.5 billion, is currently under construction by Tokyo Bay.


11. Coney Island did have some structure and Disney World does offer some respite from the structures people encounter in their daily lives.


15. This innovation represents the coming of the "thrill ride" to Epcot and the erosion of the distinction between Disney World and Epcot, which was supposed to be about educating the public and raising important issues about the future. It is reflective of the trend toward the fact that more and more things need to be entertaining. See Gene Sloan. "For the Future, Epcot Turns to the Present." USA Today, August 6, 1997, p. 6D.


19. Although I am calling them structures, these settings are increasingly taking a dematerialized form as, for example, the case of cybermalls or home shopping television. For a general discussion of dematerialization in the realm of consumption, see Don Slater. Consumer Culture and Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997.

22. A recent study of changing tastes in food in Great Britain concluded that little could be said about the issue because data are sparse and inconclusive (and this is even more true of tastes in consumer goods in general). The author was able to say much more that is definitive about the production of food as well as the means of consumption that make that food available to consumers. See Alan Warde. Consumption, Food and Taste. London: Sage, 1997.
25. Campbell offers an even broader sense of this process "involving the selection, purchase, use, maintenance, repair and disposal of any product or service." Campbell's use of the term shopping (selection and purchase of goods and services) is closer to our sense of this process, but it does not apply well to our interest in theme parks, cruise lines, and casinos; we usually do not think of people as "shopping" in these settings. See Colin Campbell. "The Sociology of Consumption," in Daniel Miller (ed.). Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies. London: Routledge, 1995, pp. 102, 104.
27. This extension to museums makes it clear that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between "high" and "low" culture.
28. This means, among other things, that the exchange need not necessarily be completed. That is, something like "window shopping" would be part of our concern, even if no purchase takes place. See Anne Friedberg. Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
30. Corrigan has recently described an earlier means of consumption, the department store, in a similar way: "It is not an exaggeration to see department stores as similar to cathedrals: they attracted people to worship at the temple of consumption." See Peter Corrigan. The Sociology of Consumption. London: Sage, 1997, p. 56.
37. I will have a lot more to say about atriums, and the contribution of the architect John Portman, in Chapter 6.
38. Zepp also discusses Disneyland, baseball stadiums, and airports in these terms. All of these means of consumption will be discussed in this book.
39. This is not impossible because it could be argued that this is exactly what takes place in thousands of churches and synagogues on the sabbath.
42. There are two basic types of franchising arrangements. The first, product franchising, is a system in which "a manufacturer markets its output almost entirely through highly specialized retailers who, in turn, rely on the manufacturer for most of the products they sell." McCormick harvesting machines and Singer sewing machines involved product franchising and, most important, to this day so does the sale of new automobiles. The second, business-format franchising, "is where the outlet itself—together with a comprehensive package of services to support it—is the product." The fast food franchises are the best example today of business-format franchising, but this type has expanded into many other types of retail businesses since the 1950s. See Thomas S.


46. Although an important and growing means of consumption, catalogs are in the early phases of a long-term transformation that will end with the dominance of on-line, Internet catalogs.


48. There were precursors (e.g., arcades) to the modern shopping mall in Europe in the late 1700s and 1800s.


60. Some traditional advertisements do this, as well.


64. Richard Tompkins. “Wal-Mart Plans Big On-line Expansion.” Financial Times, March 27, 1997, p. 33. There have also been failures. Shopping 2000, a cyberclone of a traditional mall with fifty-eight storefronts, failed because it was too cumbersome.


73. Some trace it much further back to the founding of FAO Schwartz in New York in the 1860s.


91. Hard Rock Cafe Web site.


Chapter 2


2. As I will discuss in more detail later, credit cards are not a means of consumption, but they do facilitate their use by consumers.

3. There is a substantial literature on shopping, but it is only a part of our concern and does not well describe the relationship between consumers and many of the new means of consumption, especially cruise ships, casinos, theme parks, entertainment centers, and so on.


6. In this, they are much like the tobacco companies and their efforts to hook teenagers on cigarettes.


10. And the facilitating means themselves need facilitators. For example, wider scale credit card use on the Internet awaits greater trust in the reliability of methods of encryption.


13. A number of other experts trace the origins of mass consumption to the United States to the 1920s, the shift from a mentality of scarcity to one of abundance and the rise of modern advertising.


22. Given this focus on consumption, I have opted not to discuss the situation confronting the millions of people who work in or on behalf of the cathedrals of consumption. This is an important issue, worthy of a book of its own.


32. Another recent innovation designed to increase consumption is mechanisms built into products that demonstrate to consumers that it is time to replace them. Examples include razors with strips that fade indicating that the blade needs to be replaced, beer cans with brewing dates designed to encourage consumers to discard stale beer (even though beer can last for years), and toothbrushes with blue bristles that fade, indicating that it is time to replace the brushes. See Dana Canedy “Where Nothing Lasts Forever.” New York Times, April 24, 1998, pp. C1, C3.


38. Of course, consumers do not always buy, or buy as much as they are “supposed” to. Furthermore, consumers may actively resist and rebel against the new means of consumption. They may also use the cathedrals in ways unanticipated by those who designed and manage them.


42. I am taking a position that is opposed by most globalization theorists as well as Featherstone, who argues against this idea and who sees a shift away from the United States in particular and the West in general. See Mike Featherstone. Consumer Culture and Postmodernism. London: Sage, 1991, pp. 127, 142.

43. However, there are limits to this, as Mars Inc. candy makers discovered in Russia, where its America-oriented ads, as well as a general return to “Russianness,” led to a backlash and renewed interest in “real Russian chocolate.” See Christian Caryl. “We Will Bury You . . . with a Snickers Bar.” U.S. News and World Report, January 26, 1998, pp. 50, 52; see also Daniel Williams. “Advertisers Cash in on Things Russian.” Washington Post, June 12, 1998, p. A16.


47. McDonald’s sued two members of Greenpeace for passing out leaflets critical of the company. The trial ran for more than two years, becoming the longest running trial in the history of Great Britain. The judge’s decision in mid-1997 was generally seen as a partial and pyrrhic victory for McDonald’s. The case became the rallying cry for a large number of individuals and groups critical of McDonald’s on a wide variety of grounds.


49. Of course, with capitalism now triumphant throughout virtually the entire world, the conditions (e.g., hyperexploitation) may be being put into place to allow for the reemergence of a radical alternative to capitalism.


Chapter 3

1. It is increasingly difficult to separate them. In many of the new means of consumption consumers produce their own consumption. For example, by pouring their own drinks or making their own salad, consumers are helping to produce their own meals.


7. Smith (1789/1994, p. 938) does not make this error, labeling what Marx calls the means of consumption "consumable commodities." Marx, like Smith, is really dealing with consumer goods and not with the kinds of structures that are discussed in this book as the means of consumption.

8. However, as we have already seen and will have occasion to examine further, there is a sense in which we "consume" means of consumption such as the fast food restaurant.

9. As the reader will see, I will waffle a bit on whether the consumer is, like the worker, exploited.


13. Baudrillard also discusses the credit card, which is an important example of what has been termed "facilitating means."


21. Or at least less. In fact, because the three types of authority are also "ideal types," each appears, at least to some degree, in all particular cases of the exercise of authority.


25. However, as we will see, there is an important trend toward less objective, dematerialized means of consumption.

26. The idea of a "neon cage" has recently been employed by Lauren Langman to analyze one of the new means of consumption—the shopping mall. Langman takes a Marxist, rather than a Weberian, view of malls, but nonetheless sees them as isolated structures in which everything—from temperature to merchant displays to people—is controlled. To his credit, Langman also sees malls as producers of fantasies and dream-like states. See Lauren Langman. "Neon Cages: Shopping for Subjectivity," in Rob Shields (ed.). *Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption.* London: Routledge, 1992, pp. 40-82.


35. This is so at least in the form of being emotional about not showing emotion.


37. Of course, they are successful to varying degrees. Some consumers may find a cathedral of consumption quite enchanting, whereas others will fail to see its enchanting qualities. Most, of course, will stand somewhere in between.


39. Although Williams's work is discussed in this section, her research does not fit comfortably under the heading of neo-Weberian theory. However, she is dealing with the issue of enchantment.


53. The reader might want to think of other aspects of the American society from this point of view. For example, this helps us understand the popularity of the television show and movie “The X-Files.”


Chapter 4


7. "Loose slots" are those that pay out the most frequently.

8. Although, as we will see, Disney World is also in a sense a shopping mall oriented to getting people to spend far more than they do on their daily pass.


